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Come Into The Light

ALICE WILKINS

Ten Year Milestone For Travelers

LESLIE A. NASH, Jr.

Semantics And Prejudice

ED BENNETT

Sayago The Bugler

IRENE DIGGS

Mississippi Barbarism

(An Editorial)

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There can be n

ANYONE

A notable advance toward fulfillment of the ideals and aspirations that represent America at its best was marked by the May 31, 1955 decision of the Supreme Court implementing its historic decision of May 17, 1954. Since this decision of last May, there has been a marked progress in eliminating the curse of racial segregation from America's schools. Failures there have been — bad ones — but the successes far overshadow them . . . promising a future in which Negro children will take their rightful place beside their white classmates in completely democratic, integrated schools. With the destruction of this major citadel of injustice and ignorance, the Negro makes an important advance in his march to full equality and freedom. If this step is important to you, we can think of no better way to indicate your support than by becoming a Life Member in the NAACP, an organization wholly devoted to this cause.

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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IN THIS ISSUE

October, 1955

COME INTO THE LIGHT—*By Alice Wilkins* 453
TEN YEAR MILESTONE FOR TRAVELERS—*By Leslie A. Nash, Jr.* 459
SEMANTICS AND PREJUDICE—*By Ed Bennett* 465
SAYAGO THE BUGLER—*By Irene Diggs* 471
EDITORIALS 480

DEPARTMENTS

COLLEGE AND SCHOOL NEWS 473
LOOKING AND LISTENING 482
RACE AND HOUSING 490
GOOD NEWS 494
ALONG THE NAACP BATTLEFRONT 495
BRANCH NEWS 503
INVESTORS IN FREEDOM 507
BOOK REVIEWS 508

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■ **Brains and brawn can triumph over racial handicaps**

Come Into the Light

By Alice Wilkins

FOR years a spell has been cast over the minds of the darker peoples. Driven into their subconscious minds from the time of chattel slavery was the idea that some one must manage their affairs, take care of their needs and build their haven for them.

Today the picture changes. In the East, the peoples of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia, China and Burma have emerged and have achieved their independence. A light pierces the gloom, ahead looms the pathway to Freedom. Freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom from oppression. Here in the West, people of African descent press forward toward freedom. But freedom is ours only if we find ourselves, learn our history, regain our heritage, and seek to emulate our forefathers.

Since the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, the Negro has come a long way. Many barriers have been stricken down by court order, removeed by legislation, or discarded by enlightened public opinion. The goal of complete emancipation is now clearly in view, but the road ahead is still strewn with many obstacles. The obstacles in the path of the Negro are chiefly placed by prejudiced bigots. But, in some cases he himself unwittingly puts hindrances in his own path.

He carries a "chip" on his shoulder, he bears a grudge against a white man because of segregation in certain schools. He blames the law and legislation of the country in which he lives for his failure. He apes the white man's antics, strives hard to keep up with the Jones,' and fights, fumes and fusses, while all the time within himself is the power to emerge and be victorious.

Some of the walls he beats his brains on are crumbling; others will have to be blasted out. But, the Negro must work, work with brains and brawn; like the great Frederick Douglass, and the immortal Harriet Tubman and others who blazed a trail for us to follow. The road to Freedom is not an easy one. It is lined with oppression, aggression, hatred and malice. It takes patience, courage, valor and above all wisdom, knowledge and understanding of himself, realizing, to persevere is to conquer.

ALICE WILKINS, *who lives in Brooklyn, N. Y., is active in civic and business affairs in her community.*

The following verse classifies the different types; it is up to the individual to make his choice:

Look at the Negro with a 'chip,' he
is a fool,
While the Negro without a 'chip' is
a tool,
But, the Negro who will work
Will never have a quirk
Why? That Negro knows, he belongs.

NEGRO WITH A "CHIP"

To examine the Negro with a "chip," what do you see? A failure. Why? because, he carries a picture of being exploited in his mind, he is always dissatisfied; the picture then projects itself into his life, he becomes master of the art of exploiting his fellowman. Indiscriminately he exploits everyone and surpasses his white brother at treating his "own people" disgracefully. History tells of the white man's exploit of the white man, and the black man's exploit of the black man. All through history, man's inhumanity to man has been a curse. It proves the truth of the old adage, "Since man to man is so unjust, I do not know which one to trust."

Coming back to the Negro with a "chip." When he says he is fighting against the white man, he is really trying to be like him. Deep in his heart he only wishes to be in the other's position. He wants to be premier, governor, or whatnot ruler. He attains, then what? He forgets his down-trodden brother and rides him ruthlessly.

Now, consider the Negro without a "chip." That Negro is a tool. He is as much a slave as ever. He slaves for a salary, he slaves for social security, he slaves for old age pension, he slaves for burial benefits, he slaves, slaves, slaves for one thing or another. Cuddled and be-fuddled he is blind to the opportunities of "equal rights." His Christmas bonus and other gratuities represent security to him. The chance of independence and economic stability is overlooked, he is happy because he earns $37.00 per week.

A typical incident occurred a few months ago. A young man of 30, with a wife and two children in his family, was offered the chance to go into business for himself. He refused. The thought of building from scratch a business for himself appalled him. He preferred the security of burial benefits. However the future of the American Negro has never been so full of hope. He must decide now. He must choose his station in life. Will he be a fool or tool?

FREE OF GRIPES

Compare the really successful Negro, he is free of gripes, grouches, and growls. He sees himself as his master sees him. He knows he is his master's right hand. Instead of being merely a wage-earner he knows he is an unrecognized producer. Instead of carrying a "chip" on his shoulder he is proud to be a "Chip" off the old Block. This "Chip" knows his history, as a Negro he proudly surveys the great contribution his forefathers made to the world, in art, science, and skill. He is a success because he knows himself. He understands nothing is achieved without determination, without struggles, without hardships and oppositions. But, those very experiences are stepping stones to his success. He knows that to be thrifty is to be prosperous. He realizes he would not be helped permanently if some one is doing for him what he could and should do for himself. The Jones' are no incentive to him. He thinks. He knows his ability and knows no one can hold him back. He sets himself a goal. He sees in self-freed Frederick Douglass, who was with Lincoln when emancipation was given, the Negro, an example worth emulating.

NEGRO COMPETITORS

Today, before me is a picture of Eisenhower and Lincoln shaking hands across the years. Somewhere in the interim hundreds of Negroes rose to brilliant success and shared in "equal rights." Guided by their innate intelligence those Negroes developed their creative ability, and competed favorably with their forefathers who built the great pyramids and lofty cities of old. We have our sky-scrapers and subways, our beautiful Cadillacs and Fords, our television and fluoroescent lights, our IBM's and jets, all manned and maintained though in minority by Negroes.

To realize how great a heritage is his, the Negro must study his history, and emulate his forefathers who set the pattern of culture and civilization for the world. He must shake off the "chip": the bugaboo of some one keeping him down, that he will starve if he is his own boss.

Come into the light and see the status changing. The Negro needs no longer do first-class work as a second-class citizen. Thanks to NAACP and other organizations who fought and won a glorious battle the Negro is working toward "Equal Rights."

The young Negro holds his own in schools and colleges and knows that God made only one "race." The future is certainly bright for the Negro who carries a torch instead of a chip, and who will decide now and act.

What will he do? Will he use "Equality" to promote his progress economically, or will he utilize it to better his position socially?

To become part of the economic structure of his country, to participate in the production of his country, and to know himself should be his goal.

Now look at the Negro who has no quirks while he works. He also is a success. He knows his boss needs his service. He is aware the boss is willing to pay him a good salary, because the boss either does not know how to do the job himself or is too lazy or too "big" to do it himself. This Negro realizes he belongs, he feels his equality. He has the will to make a place for himself in his country.

RED TAPE

On the other hand there are others who are really pushed aside because of some red tape in existing laws and regulations, or they are unsuitable because of age limits or physical handicaps. Unable to master those conditions they are misguided into believing some one must care for them, and unlike the Jews and others they by-pass opportunities to help themselves in the false belief that they must have a fortune before they can engage in any business. The ultimate end of this type of individual is usually frustration and unhappiness.

But not all Negroes bury their talents and expect Uncle Sam or Aunt Eleanor to care for them. Around New York and Brooklyn scores of self-employed Negroes are prosperous because they carry no "chip" and are thrifty.

Not so long ago I met a young man, 28, who gave me inspiration. Along with a charming personality, his eyes sparkle, his face beams when he tells of his brilliant success and happiness. Born of a family of average means he was aware of his unusual ability at a very young age. Widowed very early, his mother shouldered the responsibility and sent him through college to attain a profession. He yielded to an avocation and abandoned the profession to found the Yulecraft Advertising Co., which sells calenders and advertising specialities. He was burdened by no "chip," his mother had taught him to think right, have faith, and believe in prayer. With only $62.00 to invest he approached manufacturers and pleaded for sufficient card and calendar stock for a season, on an open account. Through his belief in prayer, himself and his product he was able too persuade others to believe in them also. He secured a loan on a moral basis. Today, Yulecraft is one of the first Negro owned calendar Manufacturing firms, and recognized by the advertising speciality jobbing concerns in the country. It also competes with 206 similar firms in the National Advertising Speciality Industry and is rated by Dun and Bradstreet.

Today a light pierces the gloom and in the near future, the Negro through education and inspection will be entirely free to *Come Into the Light*.

* * *

Why Don't You Join the Civil Rights Brigade by Taking Out a Membership in the NAACP?

Send your check or money order to:

MEMBERSHIP SECRETARY

THE NAACP

20 West 40th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

Sanford

MARITIME UNION OFFICIALS *pay memberships to NAACP Committee on the* SS. UNITED STATES. *Center, James A. Plater, NAACP chairman receiving memberships from (left) William J. Sampson, ship chairman, NMU, and Donald Ritchey, extreme right, waiter T/c and Steward's Department union delegate. Jimmie Hall, second from right, NAACP Committee treasurer, is receiving check from Mr. Ritchey. BOTTOM: James A. Plater, committee chairman, receives first membership in 1955 NAACP campaign from John Dudley, chief crew steward,* S.S. UNITED STATES. *Others in the picture (from left) are William J. Sampson, ship chairman, waiter T/c, James Plater, Angelo S. Mendez, waiter 1/c, Mr. Dudley, Oscar Bonnitti, messman, and Donald Ritchey.*

Sanford

THESE MEN *are members of the NAACP Committee on the* S.S. UNITED STATES: (*from left*) *Oscar Bonnitto, Johnny Vargas, waiter 1/c; Miquel Ortiz, messman; Warren Baynes, chief porter; James A. Plater, committee chairman, waiter 1/c; Freddie Johnson, waiter C/c; Bob Bloom, assistant grill cook; and Jimmie Hall* (*center*), *committee treasurer, tourist class, BR.*

* * *

"In the last analysis, we see only what we are ready to see, what we have been taught to see. We eliminate and ignore everything that is not a part of our prejudices."

—J. M. Charoot

■ This agency helps minority travelers to plan their trips and vacations

Ten Year Milestone For Travelers

By Leslie A. Nash, Jr.

IN a busy suite of offices on Fifth Avenue in midtown New York, a dedicated group of men and women are busily at work on the 1956 edition of an unusual publication. This publication is *Travelguide,* an indispensable aid for thousands of travelers, which is now preparing its 10th anniversary edition.

The history of the guide book embraces a period when minority group travelers, particularly Negroes, have enjoyed their greatest progress with regard to the type, scope, and quality of accommodations available to them. Little by little, step by step, the traveler is finding new doors open to him, new establishments, vying for his patronage. The millenium is not yet here, but measurable strides have been made.

Founded in 1946 by W. H. ("Billy") Butler, violinist, arranger and conductor, whose many years with touring theatrical troupes had convinced him that such a directory was needed, *Travelguide* became an important pioneer in the development of Negro travel. Many of the nation's top theatrical, social, professional, and business names endorsed the new enterprise, some even taking an active part in helping compile the information which went into its first edition. The pocket-sized directory gained immediate popularity because of its compactness and easy access to the wide and varied scope of its contents.

Published as an annual, with occasional supplements, *Travelguide* gives the latest information on hotels, resorts, restaurants, service stations, barber shops, motels, and other accommodations of interest to the traveler or vacationer. It also contains informative and useful material on civil rights laws, speed regulations, population statistics of communities listed, points of interests,

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LESLIE A. NASH, JR., *a New York City journalist and travel expert, is an editorial worker with* Travelguide.

Travelguide, Inc.

W. H. ("Billy") BUTLER, *Travelguide's president, looks on as Rev. James A. Robinson (center) discusses photos he made during one of his trips to Africa and the Far East. Interested listeners are Donald A. Davis, president of the King Travel Organization (Travelguide's affiliate) and Ernestine Samuels, general manager.*

precise highway locations and other aids. In addition, the booklet continues to devote many pages to the latest developments in the fight for integration including biographies and feature stories on prominent people and organizations who have led in that battle.

UNIQUE BOOKLET

From the beginning *Travelguide* has been unique in that it is perhaps the only business ever started with the express idea that every effort would be made to eliminate those conditions which made it necessary and profitable. Strangely enough, the directory's great progress has not brought it even remotely near the point where the publication will no longer be necessary. Each opened door reveals a dozen new obstacles in the path of the traveler. Some day there will be no more rivers to cross, but there is still a great deal of work to be done. As progress is made, *Travelguide* gradually ceases to become a "specialized" publication, and takes its place alongside existing directories for use by all people.

A great deal of credit must also go to *Travelguide's* 30 or more representatives situated throughout the nation and in some foreign countries. Starting out as investigators and advertising salesmen, some of them have become experts in the travel field, arranging group tours, etc., through *Travelguide*.

Travelguide's growth in the domestic field has been coupled with increasing interest on the part of its customers in foreign travel. This led to the idea of establishing a travel agency to adequately serve the needs of all people without regard to race, creed, or color, and on this basis *King Travel Organization* came into being. An affiliate of *Travelguide*, *King Travel* takes care of foreign tours and bookings and individual trips all over the world. *King Travel* is truly cosmopolitan in character. Sixty-five per cent of its customers are non-Negro. It specializes in tours such as the two jaunts it has arranged for the 1955 Baptist World Alliance in which visits to all major European countries as well as to the Holy Land are provided at reasonable cost.

Although free listings are offered to all desirable hotels and resorts, *Travelguide* often finds refusals even in states having penalties for infractions of civil rights. Some of them state that while they have no personal prejudice against Negroes, their customers might object. Others contend that too few Negroes possess the necessary culture and refinement to mix well with whites at hotels and resorts. (Strangely enough, many Negroes have held the same misconception). Still others said that refined and cultured persons of any race were welcomed at their establishments, but they were reluctant to publicize the fact.

ERRONEOUS IDEAS

One means of dispelling these erroneous ideas was the formation of the *Travelguide Travel Club* which entitles members to free auto routings, hotel and resort reservations, airline and steamship bookings, identification stickers, etc. Many of the members are doing a great job by sending in regular reports of their experiences while traveling. These reports often contain suggestions of hotels and restaurants which have indicated a desire to have a larger Negro clientele. The club is growing, and plans are underway for further expansion which will include an accident insurance policy for club members along with other benefits.

According to Mr. Butler, who has personally directed *Travelguide's* long fight against discrimination, many barriers have been broken down by pioneering travelers whose demeanor and personality opened doors previously closed to Negroes. *Travelguide* has and does exercise extreme care in sending guests to new establisments "taking the plunge" with regard to accepting Negro guests. These travelers have leaned backwards to create a good impression, have almost always been successful and thus made it possible for others to follow in their footsteps.

An example is the head of a large

New York accounting firm who took a cruise and found himself seated next to the only other Negro passengers in the dining saloon on the first night out. He questioned the steward who said the placement was deliberate to "keep the group happier." The accountant complained to the captain, and was subsequently seated with other passengers. During the rest of the trip he proved to be one of the most popular participants in the cruise, and everyone had a fine time without a hint of trouble.

PERSONAL INSPECTION

Another time a swank Pennsylvania resort wrote *Travelguide* asking for guests. A personal inspection was arranged, and when the *Travelguide* representative (complexion fair) noted the excellent appointments including swimming pool, tennis court, facilities for horse-back riding and other recreation, he sensed there might have been a misunderstanding. When the proprietress was informed that *Travelguide* recommended only places which had no discrimination regarding race, creed, or color, she replied her resort imposed absolutely no *restrictions* and that "all kinds of people—Chinese, Japanese, Jews—come here." As an afterthought she added, "Of course, we don't accept Negroes."

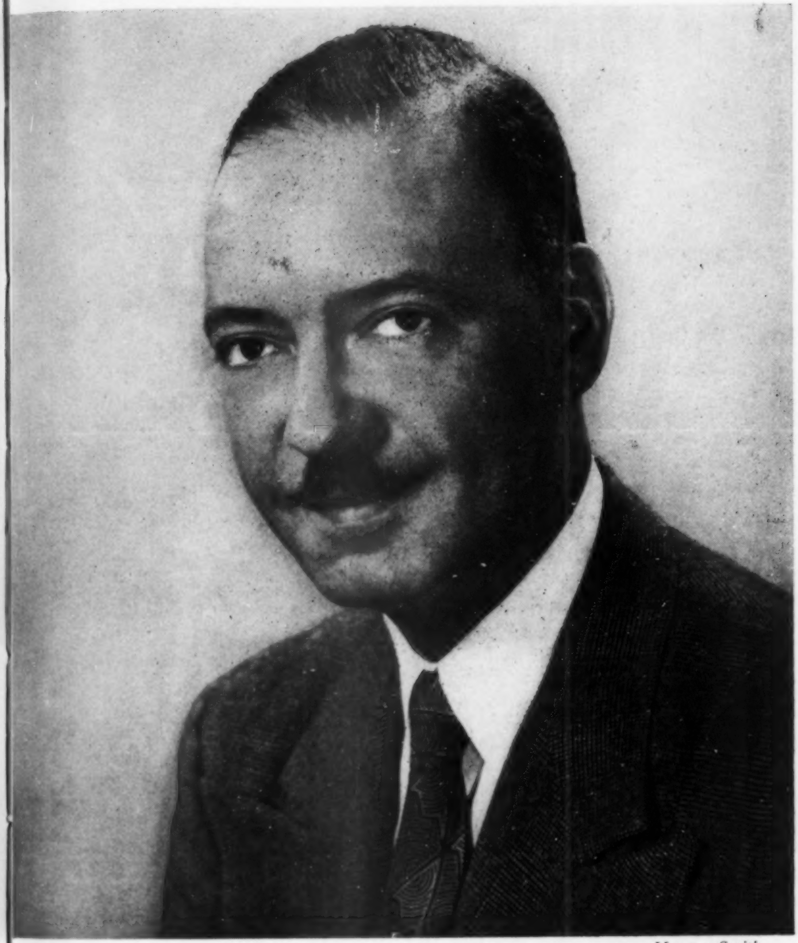
The representative explained that an establishment which discriminated against people of *any* race would be ineligible for listing. After some discussion, the owner decided to experiment with Negro guests, and *Travelguide is* making arrangements to send a couple to the resort. Past experience indicates that the experiment will work well.

Travelguide works closely with several leading hotel and motel chains in the northern states. It is particularly heartening that an ever increasing number of calls arrive at their office stating that the inquirer is non-Negro but wants to know of first class Cleveland, Los Angeles (or some other city's) hotels which cooperate. The caller explains he prefers not to spend his money where racial discrimination is practised.

NEGRO GUESTS

Many establishments ask *Travelguide* to send them qualified Negro guests. Recently several children's summer camps in New York and Vermont have asked for recommendations of Negro children because of the belief that racial integration makes for a fuller and more complete social experience for young people. These same camps had previously banned Negro children.

Naturally, all *Travelguide's* customers are not pioneers, and most enjoy patronizing well-run resorts established specifically to receive their patronage. But for more and more travelers, aside from high quality the only specialization they demand is a feeling of goodwill towards *all*. Today, *Travelguide*, Inc. represents several outstanding resorts in various parts of the country including the beautiful *Paradise Farm* in Cuddebackville, New York; fabulous *Moulin Rouge* in Las Vegas, Nevada; the *Shirley "K"* in Colton Point (Maryland's most fastidious resort) and the scenic and delightful *Somo Heights* in Tomahawk, Wisconsin.



Morgan Smith

W. H. ("Billy") BUTLER, *violinist, arranger, conductor, and founder, in 1946, of* TRAVELGUIDE.

Bosh Stack Associates

DR. P. T. ROBINSON (*second from left*) *is Richmond's* (*California*) *first NAACP life member. Rev. Jules S. Bagneris presented Dr. Robinson his life membership plaque on June* 11, 1955, *as branch president Lofton L. Fowler* (*far right*) *and Mrs. Robinson look on. BOTTOM: Gloria Lockerman,* 12-*year-old Baltimore, Maryland, school girl, who won* $16,000 *on the CBS-TV* $64,000 *quiz plays "Crypto-O," new word game, with her grandmother, Mrs. Bertha Key, and Leslie Peter, creator of the game.*

■ A little humor can help make segregation ridiculous

Semantics and Prejudice

By Ed Bennett

TEN years ago I was working in upstate New York on a newspaper that indugled in race labeling in its crime and accident stories. The policy was deliberate. The editor, of Southern origin, subscribed to every racial stereotype extant and a few that weren't (remarking frequently with a sneer, and without response, that the Carver League was "aptly named"), and he insisted on the labeling practice as "proof" of his belief in the criminality of Negroes.

There appeared to be hope of correction one evening when three prominent Negroes came in and engaged the editor in a brief, angry discussion, but when they had left he merely announced on the bulletin board that henceforth "Negro" was to be spelled with a capital "N".

He possibly didn't realize it, but that was something that the entire staff already knew—and practiced as a matter of correct usage regardless of personal attitudes, as a glance at any copy of the paper would have revealed. Obviously, somebody's finger had slipped off the shift key.

I was disillusioned, not by the visitors' valid objection to the lowercase contempt, but by their wasting time, energy and anger on an obvious typographical error while failing even to mention the really vicious practice of race labeling.

The incident was recalled to mind recently when a local politician wrote to our branch announcing that an organization which he heads would no longer produce its annual blackface minstrel show. Throughout his letter he used the small "n", and we were faced with the decision whether to appear (to him) petty by deigning to correct his spelling while thanking him for a gracious deed.

Some would argue that word usage is not of great importance ("Sticks and stones . . ." etcetera), but in this instance the principal victim was the user himself, an innocent, disinterested bystander whose political life depends on the good will of all. Because, through carelessness or ignorance, he adopted a semantic device invented by white supremacists to express their alleged superi-

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ED BENNETT *lives in Youngstown, Ohio. "Segregation," he says, "is as silly as it is vicious, and a society sane enough to recognize the obvious could laugh it out of existence quickly."*

ority, he was exposing himself to the unjust suspicion that he was one of them.

It is not surprising that the nation's most talented practicing semanticists are to be found among the opponents of brotherhood, since emotionally charged words and hinted meanings are part of their stock in trade. What is surprising, and disappointing, is that so many of their victims and their victims' friends, those who are struggling most valiantly to erase segregation and discrimination, should allow themselves to be made suckers by adopting the enemy's terminology.

To illustrate: Three years ago a Senate labor subcommittee, chaired by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.), was holding one of those perennial hearings on a federal fair employment practices bill. Nearly all of the witnesses were "friendly," in that they asked Congress for effective legislation, but a painfully large number of them slipped into the habit of asking for a "compulsory" FEP law.

Every time the term was used, Senator Humphrey interrupted to say "I do not want that word in the record. It is the invention of the opponents of this measure, and it is doing as much as anything to defeat it. All legislation is compulsory, but a law isn't even a law if it has no enforcement provisions. We want a workable, effective, enforceable measure, but to talk of 'compulsion' is suicide."

The witness would no sooner step down than another would take the stand to pull the same blooper all over again, and Humphrey would sigh and repeat his warning. Many of the guilty ones were labor people who have been struggling to protect the union shop against their opponents' charges of "compulsory unionism." They should have known better.

Meanwhile, an encouragingly substantial proportion of Washington citizens were actively fighting segregation and discrimination — but a discouragingly large number of those were carlessly describing nondiscriminatory institutions as "interracial," a word that suggests racial dichotomy.

ANNOYING EXAMPLES

It was annoying, for example, to hear All Souls Church (Unitarian) described as "interracial." Definitely, it is not. It is nonracial; it doesn't give a hoot about the racial origins and characteristics of its members and congregation, except for a certain satisfaction with the obvious results of the policy, an *integrated* congregation.

On the other hand, it does have a Boy Scout troop that is consciously interracial, in that its charter requires it to be made up of members of both the Caucasian and Negro races, in as nearly equal proportions as possible. The founders had some misgivings about the provision, but conditions prevailing there at the time made the move necessary, if the troop was to illustrate to the rest of the city that "intermingling" is harmless and normal.

Words unimportant? Well, ask a timid restaurateur to accept all well-behaved customers regardless of color and he may perhaps someday break down and try it. But ask him to make his place "interracial" and you will find yourself standing alone with his lapel in your hand.

Another, perhaps less serious, careless word use is that of "mixed" as a handy, monosyllabic synonym for "interracial" or "integrated." "Mixed" suggests confusion, as though those who indulge in "mixing" don't quite know what they're doing. A "mixed" marriage, for example, can be described more accurately and sympathetically as an "interracial" or "interreligious" union. Also, to speak of a "mixed" group calls attention to minor, irrelevant, surface differences. It may sound silly at first, since it isn't in common usage, but "blended" would be a much better term. Why let the Dixiecrats invent all the word usages?

Clearly the most ridiculous, and possibly the most dangerous, piece of blindness and carelessness lies in calling Caucasians "white." Being technically and arbitrarily so classified, I resent with emotional intensity the suggestion that I am colorless, either physically or in personality, and if Jimmy Byrnes himself were to look into a mirror and find himself white he'd summon his physician and next-of-kin.

PERSONAL ENCOUNTER

My first personal encounter with jim crow in transportation (on a bus in Dallas) brought a reaction of irreverent amusement rather than bitterness. The seats in front were labeled "white" and those in the rear "colored," and everyone on the bus, including the driver, was colored, at least to the extent of being pink — and some of those in the rear were lighter of complexion than some of those in front.

As I stood in the aisle, not in protest but in confusion, I tried to imagine a logical application of segregation rules. It would require the driver to hold up progress at every stop while he tested each passenger with a color chart, arranging them in relative order. This, of course, would split up families and might require an albino to ride out front, hanging onto the windshield wipers, while a Caucasian coal heaver returning from work would clutch the rear motor housing. But this would not be a racial division. That would require every passenger to produce a pedigree certificate attesting to the absence of brunette ancestors all the way back to Adam.

Pauli Murray's compilation of *States' Laws on Race and Color* lists every definition of "Negro" undertaken in the states to which the word is important. Some don't even try. Some refer to "African descent," which would jim crow ex-King Farouk and even the Afrikaans Malan and Strydom. Others define a Negro as anyone with Negro ancestors, imitating Gertrude Stein's "A rose is a rose is a rose."

In the face of such patent idiocy, it is truly remarkable that segregation has survived as long as it has, overcoming obstacles that ought to be insurmountable.

WHITE DANGEROUS

What makes "white" dangerous, though, is the tradition, too deeply imbedded to be eradicated, of associating virtue with white and evil with black. In Langston Hughes'

Simple Takes a Wife, Jess Semple reviews that problem colorfully, and with feeling, for an entire chapter; but not much can be done about it if discussion is limited to the mouths of literary characters. Emotional blocks against integration are piled up by every reference to so-called "white" or "black" races and by every paralleling of goodness with the former and badness with the latter. The least we can do is resist and to refrain from adding to the separating pressures.

Admittedly, the word "Negro" in origin means "black," but for want of a better name we'll have to go along with the nondescriptive proper name. "White" could be capitalized, perhaps, but there is an advantage to "Caucasian": Having to wade through three syllables might tend to discourage race consciousness.

Meanwhile, we are losing the war of semantics. While we spend time, energy and money constantly in the battle against the rotten evil of discrimination, that very word is being glorified as the ultimate of virtues by advertisements for automobiles, cigarettes, ginger ale, and other products.

"Smoke Cruds, the choice of discriminating people!" the ads exhort us, and some of us, out of snobbery or absent-mindedness, obey — and contribute in five years the price of a life membership in the NAACP to the very inhuman influences that we're striving to overcome.

Sticks and stones may break our bones, but names — and words — can do more lasting damage.

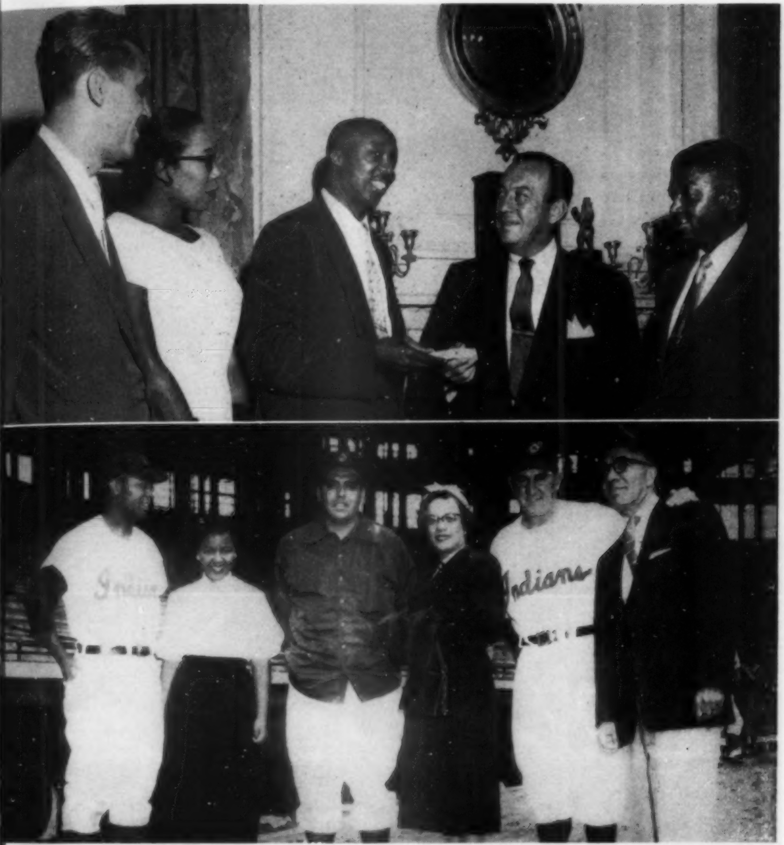
FRENCH WEST INDIANS

"Prior to 1939 the French West Indian would have told you he was a happy man—at least, he thought so. He voted, went to school when he could, marched in parades, drank his rum, and danced the *biguine*. Those lucky enough to have visited France came back jabbering endlessly about Paris—and finally about France. , . .

"There were also French West Indian officials who had worked in Africa, and they returned talking about savages, barbarians, natives, and servants. . . . Before the War, in 1939, a French West Indian had no doubts at all about his superiority to the African. It was a basic difference: he, the French West Indian, was a European; the African, a Negro. . . .

"But after 1945, after his experiences with the racist sailors and soldiers of the *Bearn* and *Emile-Bertin* on his home soil, the French West Indian changed his scale of values. Whereas before 1939, his eyes had been fixed on Europe and he had found it profitable to deny his color, he had discovered by 1945 not only *blacks*, but *Negroes* as well."

Frantz Fanon: "French West Indians and Africans," *Esprit* (Paris), February, 1955.



Layne's

THE NEW YORK CITY BRANCH *held a "Night at Ebbets Field" on August* 30 *when the Braves met the Dodgers. Mayor Robert Wagner of New York City buys the first ticket from Odell Clark. Others in the picture are (from left) John Sullivan, member of executive committee; Mrs. Amy Stokes, member labor-industry committee; and branch president Russell P. Crawford, at far right. BOTTOM: The Cleveland, Ohio, branch had an "Amateur Day" base ball classic on June* 27 *when the Cleveland Indians played the Cincinnati Reds. Pictured (from left) are Larry Doby, Alberta Belton, youth council vice-president; Mike Marcia, Mrs. Ester Threat, co-chairman promotion committee; Al Lopez, manager Cleveland Indians; and Dr. James E. Levy, Cleveland branch president.*

County Photo Service

THIS HOUSING FORUM *of the Central Long Island, N. Y., branch informed the people in June about the New York State Metcalf-Baker housing bill. Among the participants were (from left) Emil Keen, president of the Long Island Building Institute; Assemblyman Bertrun Baker, Brooklyn; Madison Jones, special assistant in housing, NAACP; State Senator George Metcalf; and Attorney Wilfred Reape, branch president. BOTTOM: The forum panel as it broadcast discussion of the anti-discrimination Metcalf-Baker housing bill.*

■ **Sketch of the famous bugler of Montevideo**

Sayago the Bugler

By Irene Diggs

IN most societies, there are individuals without prestige, influence, or special gift, who may become extremely popular. Among the necessary qualifications seemingly are to be known and esteemed by many and to be a personality in one's own right. Such an individual was Sayago. Sayago was known. If the sound of a bugle was heard during the night or day either in Montevideo or in Buenos Aires most everyone would say "That's Sayago." To separate Sayago from his bugle would be difficult. Without his bugle certainly Sayago, as a personality, would be incomplete.

Everyone knew Sayago but few knew the early events of his life and still fewer, of even his most intimate friends, knew where and when he was born. To most persons he appeared to be between forty-five and fifty, but according to Sayago he was born in 1801 and was then in his eighties. According to Sayago, also, he was born of royal family in Lucango on the West Coast of Africa. His father was Chief Lucango Cabanga and his mother Joanna Quicola. He was christened Antonio Lucango Cabanga, a Portuguese-African citizen, and was carefully reared and received some education. At the age of ten, already in the service of his country, Sayago, as an orderly on the warship Prompidao under the command of José Clemente Guimaraens Silva da Costa, was aboard when it called for the first time at Montevideo in 1811. At the age of thirty-eight Antonio found himself in the employ of Julian Contreras at Punta de Yeguas, a salting place, and his surname was that of the owner although he never had been a slave; he was born free and had been free all his life. With the passing of time he became known as Antonio Sayago, and eventually as Sayago.

When the *Sitio Grande* came not even Portuguese citizenship kept Lucango out of the army where he soon was promoted to sergeant in Battalion No. 2 of the National Guard under the command of Colonel José María Muñoz. For nine years Sayago fought in the army where "to

---

DR. IRENE DIGGS, *a frequent Crisis contributor, teaches anthropology at Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland.*

rest was to fight and to sleep was to watch." When peace came Sayago joined the band of the *Regimiento de Artilleria* as a bugler. Also about this time, Sayago married Eujenia Rivera, the daughter of Aunt Catalina Vidal, *morena de campanillas,* celebrated for her cakes and meat pies. Aunt Catalina was a familiar figure, walking with dignity through the streets, with her basket balanced perfectly on her head, a shawl across the middle of her back, and her hand on her hip. Eujenia inherited Aunt Catalina's secret recipes but her "aristocracy" prevented her from walking the streets with her wares. Instead, Eugenia stayed home and took orders. Nor did Eujenia Vidal de Sayago cook for just anyone but as a favor and, out of respect for her mother, she continued to make delicacies for those who were customers of Aunt Catalina. To Sayago and Eujenia were born seven sons and fourteen daughters.

ILLUSTRIOUS PARENTS

In 1859 Sayago took the opportunity of visiting his illustrious parents but found only his father alive. Grand and long was the celebration in his honor. After some months, and with the regret of kinsmen, Sayago announced his departure and returned to Montevideo aboard the Oriente about the middle of 1860.

Now free of his military obligations Sayago decided to employ himself in announcing and distributing advertisements with the help of his bugle. Sayago was especially fond of playing the Marseilles, the hymn of Riego and a march of Garibaldi. Sayago never accepted tips nor charity. It was unnecessary, for promoters of the theatre and the circus used Sayago; he advertised auctions and lots for sale; he advertised a publication in Buenos Aires, he distributed hand bills. His popularity grew by leaps and bounds. In summer it was the shrill sound of Sayago's bugle which penetrated every corner of the plaza and announced the beginning of the bullfights amid "Viva Sayago!" shouted almost in unison by the six or eight thousand spectators. Later the prolonged screeching sharp notes of Sayago's bugle ended the killing.

With the bullfight season over Sayago organized bands of musicians who played in the streets on religious and patriotic holidays. For the Argentines he not only called attention to May 25; for the French, July 14; for the English, May 24 and another date for the Italians; but he discussed the significance of these days in the appropriate language. It is recorded that Sayago defended himself in Spanish, "spoke Portuguese rather well, blundered in Basque, spoke brokenly in English and somewhat abused French." It is to be supposed that he spoke one of the languages or dialects of Africa.

Sayago was also known for his courtesy. If one met Sayago a dozen times during a single day, a dozen times would Sayago tip his hat, ask about one's family and send greetings. Throughout his long life Sayago was active, enterprising, and never lost an opportunity to carry on his business.

* * *

College and School News

Dr. Peter H. Igarashi, a native of California, who received his doctorate from Harvard university, has joined the school of religion faculty at VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY.

President Samuel DeWitt Proctor received an award from Freedom's Foundation of Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, for a brotherhood sermon he delivered at the Chef Sholom Temple of Norfolk, Virginia, and at Westhampton college of the University of Richmond.

Dr. Proctor, a native of Norfolk, Virginia, was educated in the public schools of that city and at Boston university. He served VUU as dean of the school of religion and then as vice-president before becoming president.

■

Twenty nations are now operating a UNESCO-sponsored international agreement exempting books, newspapers, magazines, works of art and a wide range of other educational, scientific materials from import duties.

Countries recently applying this agreement include Belgium, which is operating the convention by decree, and Spain, which has just deposited its instrument of acceptance with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, New York.

The eighteen other nations applying the agreement are Cambodia, Ceylon, Cuba, Egypt, France, Haiti, Israel, Laos, Monaco, Pakistan, Philippines, Salvador, Sweden, Switzer-

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land, Thailand, United Kingdom, Viet-Nam, Yugoslavia. The United Kingdom has extended the agreement to some forty overseas territories for the conduct of whose foreign relations it is responsible.

■

The UNITED NATIONS KOREAN RECONSTRUCTION AGENCY (UNKRA) is helping Koreans to learn English. The Foreign Language Institute, which was set up by UNKRA in 1953 at the request of the government of the Republic of Korea, has graduated more than 300 students since its two and a half years of operation. The school is under the direction of Karl F. Limbacher, former assistant professor at Kansas university.

■

The following towns in TEXAS have desegregated their public schools: El Paso, San Antonio, Corpus Christi, San Angelo, Brownwood, Harlingen, Weslaco, Friona, Kingsville, Alice, and Carrigo Spring.

The State University of Texas will now accept any and all graduate students regardless of whether or not these students may get those courses at a Negro college in Texas or not. The State University will accept undergraduate students next year.

■

The UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND received a $2,000 contribution for its current campaign from the International Paper Company Foundation. The Foundation, which was established in 1952 for charitable and educational purposes by the IPC, made its initial contribution to the UNCF last year with a $10,000 grant for building purposes and $2,000 for current operating expenses.

■

"School Board members, for their part, are convinced that the Baltimore desegregation policy was right for Baltimore. Looking back, they cannot see that there would have been anything to gain by moving more slowly and possibly much to lose."

These sentences are from the brochure DESEGREGATION IN THE BALTIMORE CITY SCHOOLS, issued by The Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations and The Baltimore Commission on Human Relations. Everyone interested in how the Baltimore, Maryland, desegregation policy worked out should buy this 32-page brochure.

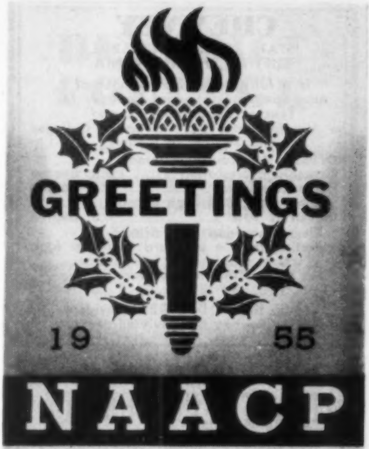
■

The PORTLAND, OREGON, PUBLIC SCHOOLS had hired six new non-white teachers for the 1955-1956 term by the end of June, and there was possibility that others might be hired by September.

Included were four Oriental and two Negro teachers, to raise the total complement of non-whites to 37.

■

The sixteenth annual commencement series of the WEST KENTUCKY VOCATIONAL SCHOOL were held on July 24, with Rev. Balir T. Hunt, pastor of the Mississippi Boulevard Christian church and principal of the Booker T. Washington high school, Memphis, Tennessee, as



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commencement speaker.

■

Unique among the varied offerings of VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE during the summer was the workshop in foreign language teaching. Planned especially for in-service teachers of foreign languages, this workshop was probably the first of its kind offered in the state.

Three VSC faculty and staff members who retired at the end of the summer session were honored at a college convocation on July 25.

The three persons were Mrs. Carrie B. Gandy, of the personnel department; Blanche Harrison, district agent, cooperative service; and Dr. Mary E. V. Hunter, director of the school of home economics. Dr. Daniel presented each honoree with a silver engraved cup.

High school graduates who have shown a high degree of competency in written and oral English now have an opportunity to advance rapidly in the freshman English program at VSC. The students who enter the accelerated English program are selected from the freshman class after they have taken tests administered by the testing bureau at the college and the English department.

Leslie Andrews, Jr., a 13-year-old Ettrick youth, received an English model bicycle at VSC in August as well as warm praise for the heroic efforts he made to save a drowning 12-year-old boy. The bicycle was purchased with contributions made by faculty members and students.

■

The eight-day orientation plan, required of all new students, began at Lincoln University (Mo.) on September 7. Emphasis this year was placed upon the advisee system and guidance in curriculum selection.

Lincoln's most outstanding journalist survived all but final elimination in the contest for the choice of the nation's most outstanding journalist.

Harold V. Manson, 1955 journalism graduate from Lincoln, was one of the four finalists for a European reporting trip in September.

■

Mayme Jacobs has joined the staff of Spelman College as its new dean of women. She comes to Spelman with a varied background in student personnel work, having served as dean of women at Grambling college and having done extensive graduate work in personnel.

■

The forty-second grand conclave of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Inc., held in Los Angeles, California, August 18-23, featured a workshop around the theme "1955 the Year of Great Decision." Moderated by Dr. John F. Potts, grand basileus of the fraternity, the research consultants included Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP; George Weaver, director of the CIO; Dr. William McKinley Thomas, committee to abolish discrimination, fraternal leader of San Francisco; Paul R. Williams, famous architect; Mrs. Loren Miller, member of Delta Sigma Theta sorority; and H. Carl Moultrie I, national executive secretary of OPPF.

■

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Herman Griffith, 1949 graduate of the Central State College drama and radio department, was signed in July by radio station WCIN, Cincinnati, Ohio, as staff announcer replacing Ted Bird, who is no longer with the station.

Griffith won local approval in the early '50's when he entered the Cincinnati College of Music, as its first Negro student specializing in radio. His own pioneering efforts were aided by the Cincinnati branch of the NAACP.

Griffith at one time did radio drama for WLW and TV drama with WKRC-TV in Cincinnati. He was later staff announcer at WBOK, New Orleans, Louisiana, WXOK, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and WWOK, Charlotte, North Carolina.

Central State was host August 15-20 to the thirty-eighth American Tennis Association championships tournament.

■

The part played by the anonymous and impersonal nature of urban life in the incidence of crime, personal maladjustments, and the growth of extremist groups, both political and religious, was stressed by Dr. Albert N. Whiting in a July address to the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY summer school assembly.

James A. Hulbert, formerly head of the United States Information Service Libraries (Services Américains d'Information) in France, has been appointed head librarian at AU.

Mr. Hulbert is a graduate of Morehouse college, A. B. 1933, and the Hampton Institute Library. In addition to the central library in Paris, Mr. Hulbert had the five branch libraries at Bordeaux, Lille, Lyon, Marseille, and Strasbourg under his supervision.

While overseas, Mr. Hulbert lectured on the American Negro problem in Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Poitiers. In 1952 he was sent by the United States Department of State to give a paper on American periodicals in library science before the Association of Assistant Librarians in London, England. Two articles by Mr. Hulbert on the Paris Library were recently published in American library journals.

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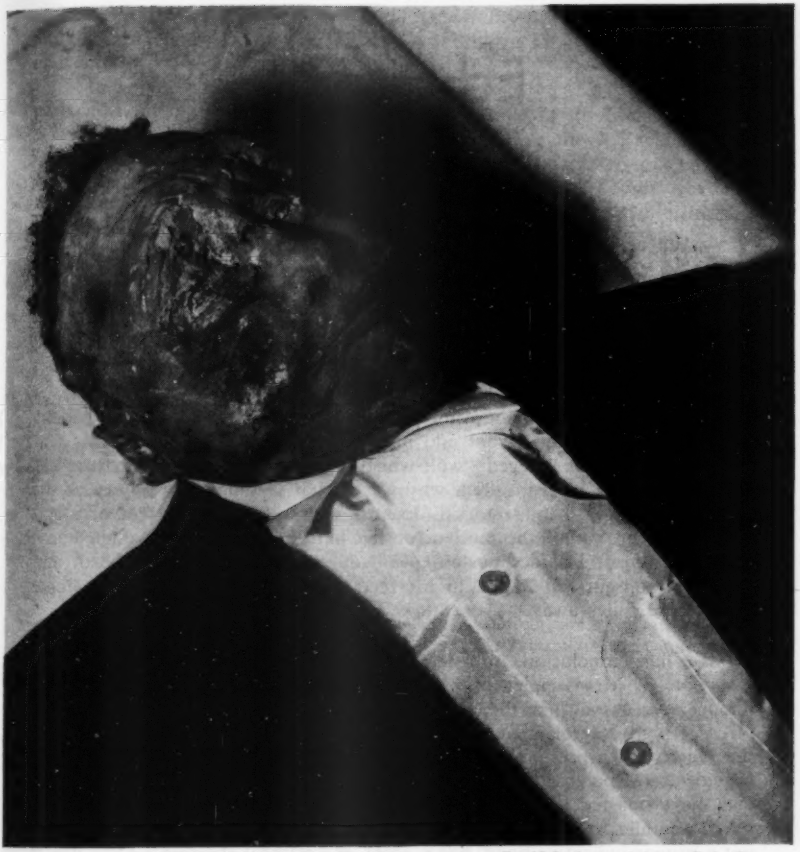


David Jackson—Johnson Pub. Co.

HATE TARGET—*The river-soaked, mutilated body of Emmett Louis Till,* 14, *of Chicago, Illinois, was recovered from the Tallahatchie River* (*on August* 31) *near Greenwood, Mississippi, three days after he had been kidnapped at gunpoint from his Uncle's home in Money. Till was murdered by Roy Bryant,* 24, *and his half-brother, J. W. Milam,* 36, *for allegedly having "wolf-whistled" at Bryant's wife, Carolyn Bryant,* 21. *The "wolf-whistle," or leer, was passed on August* 24, *but Till was not kidnapped until four days later. The New York* DAILY NEWS *remarked that the crime has "a simple savagery that is somewhat frightening."*

Editorials

MISSISSIPPI BARBARISM

THE brutal kidnap-murder of Emmett Louis Till in Mississippi last August was an act of vengeance as monstrous as it was senseless. The alleged motive was a "wolf-whistle" at a white woman, Mrs. Roy Bryant. But little Till's real crime was the crime of being Negro in the Christian State of Mississippi—a State which holds the 71-year (1882-1953) American lynching record with 574 mob victims. Down in Mississippi, where race-linked sex is an obsession, prejudice quickly discovers motives where Negroes are concerned—even if they are children!

Till was kidnapped at pistol point from his Uncle's home in Money on August 28 by Roy Bryant and his half-brother J. W. Milam. This was four days after the alleged "wolf-whistle," leer, or "obscene gesture." If Mrs. Bryant had been insulted, why was it that she made no outcry at the time when her husband's store is located within only a few feet of a gas station? Regardless of the motive for the killing, Till's water-swollen body, with one side of his face beaten to a pulp, a bullet hole in his head, and with a cotton-gin fan lashed to his feet, was fished out the Tallachatchie River some miles away.

IT is a hard conclusion. But the facts make it difficult to evade. The white people of Mississippi are directly responsible for this hideous crime. It is one more casualty in their campaign of reprisal being waged against the NAACP and Negro advancement. Citizens Councils are trying to squeeze the Negro down economically. Public officials wink at vote frauds and the organized campaigns to keep Negroes from the polls. And these same officials have boasted that they will not obey the Constitution in the Supreme Court's public school integration decisions. They claim the High Court is not a proper judicative body, but a court of "political shysters." They depict the fight for public school integration as an NAACP-crusade for "mongrelization" and then denounce miscegenation on every occasion. To these must be added the press-stimulated hate and hysteria. Thus the white minds of Mississippi are poisoned with every imaginable lie and slander about Negroes and the NAACP.

They beat Negroes for speaking their minds in an orderly fashion and even kill them, as they did the Rev. George W. Lee of Belzoni and Lamar Smith of Brookhaven for urging Negroes to vote. They threaten signers of desegregation petitions in violation of the first article of the Bill of Rights.

MISTAKE it not, these are punitive measures designed to control the Negro, to make him obedient and tractable, to keep him a second-class citizen in his own state.

Mississippi whines that she is misunderstood, that she is slandered, traduced, and maligned, that there are good people in the State who condemn the lynching-crime of Money. But where are they? Excepting the novelist William Faulkner, no responsible citizen has spoken out in rage and indignation. There is no use for Mississippi to tell the country that the State condemns the Till murder if at the same time no responsible, highly-placed Mississippian denounces the crime and his State's preachers of violence and hate.

THE United States shouts its democracy to the world and pleads with tear-filled eyes for world peace, but crimes like this imperil the position of the United States as the leader of the Free World. We conclude with William Faulkner's (Nobel-prize novelist from Mississippi) condemnation of the Till killing. Faulkner said, in part:

> When will we learn that if one county in Mississippi is to survive it will be because all Mississippi survives? That if the State of Mississippi survives, it will be because all America survives? And if America is to survive, the whole white race must survive first?
>
> Because the whole white race is only one-fourth of the earth's population of white and brown and yellow and black. So, when will we learn that the white man can no longer afford, he simply does not dare, to commit acts which the other three-fourths of the human race can challenge him for, not because the acts are themselves criminal, but simply because the challengers and accusers of the acts are not white in pigment? . . .
>
> Because if we in America have reached that point in our desparate culture when we must murder children, no matter for what reason or what color, we don't deserve to survive, and probably won't.

The trial of Bryant and Milam was held at Sumner, Mississippi, September 19-23. The verdict of the jury, after 68 minutes of deliberation, was that the two men were not guilty of the murder of Emmett Till. Both men are to be tried in November on a kidnapping charge.

FATE OF THE WORLD

THOUGH most Americans are reluctant to admit the pervasive effects of race conceit and prejudice, the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church (in a Pastoral Letter issued at their fifty-eighth general convention in Honolulu) warn:

> We in the United States, whatever our protestations of superior virtue, just because we are the most powerful and prosperous nation in the western world, have inherited in great measure the fears and resentments of Asia toward the West.
>
> . . . Before God and men, we can make no case for contempt and assumptions of racial superiority. . . . These are the deepest roots of our alienation from Asia. . . .

Looking and Listening . . .

FRENCH IMPERIALISM

ALGERIA: In Algeria the struggle is between the French settlers, who are backed by reactionary Rightist groups in France, and the Algerian nationalists. The official French position, however, is that there is no nationalist movement and therefore no insurrection because Northern Algeria is a department of metropolitan France and Algerians are French citizens.

The other myth presents French rule as engaged, with self-sacrificing devotion, in the uphill task of bringing enlightment and progress to the ignorant and backward Algerians. But the stupid Algerians, apparently, do not appreciate French uplift!

Though the French conquest of Algeria began in 1830 with the seizure of the town of Algiers, it did not end until twenty-seven years later with the conquest of the Great Kabylia in 1857. French policy was unusually brutual. From 1845 to 1850 it was the scorched earth policy of generals Cavaignac, Canrobert, and Pélissier. In 1871 it was the crushing of the uprising in Kabylia. In 1945 it was the blood-bath which drowned the rioters of Sétif. Today they are the *ratissages* (literally *rakings,* or mopping up action), the official thuggism, of Constantine, Philippeville, Bône, and Algiers. Bourgès-Maunoury, minister of the interior, calls this "exemplary repression."

The report of King Louis-Philippe's Commission of Inquiry in 1833 was a presentiment of what is happening today. This Commission concluded that the French had committeed more atrocities in two years than the Turks had in two hundred.

How fares Algeria after 125 years of French rule? Let the French writer Daniel Guérin describe (in his book *Au Service des Colonisés*) what he saw after a visit to Algeria in October-December, 1952:

> . . . The country people are moving into the cities where there is neither decent housing nor work. It is estimated that a half-million Algerians live in *tin-can villages* [*bidonvilles,* from *bidon,* an oil can. The cans are flattened and used as housing material]. Though the insistent pressure of the MTLD (Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties) city councillors has led to the installation of running water, the human decay is sometimes even more apalling than in Morocco. Entire families vegetate like troglodytes in caves dug in the soil or rock, with a few patchwork boards for doors. I have seen emerging from the depths of these black holes haggard, debilitated human beings racked with fever while on the adjacent hills the 'non-Moslem French' flaunt their vast buildings, which are going up at a faster pace every day.
>
> But the slums of the 'native' quarters are hardly better than the *tin-can villages.* The Kasbah of El Djezair in Algiers has preserved all its picturesque quality, but its Moorish houses charming in their antiquity, house ten and more

> families although they were originally built to lodge only one. The density of population is more than 2,000 inhabitants for every two and one-half acres. The death rate is three times higher than in the non-Moslem districts, and tuberculosis ten times more widespread. . . .
>
> The big colonists have deliberately kept Algeria an almost exclusively agricultural country. Contrary to Morocco, industrialization is embryonic. The urban native, if not doomed to perpetual unemployment, has a choice among a strictly limited number of degrading vocations. . . .
>
> The situation on the countryside is not much better. Successive expropriations of land by colonization have transformed a goodly portion of the Algerian *fellahs* into agricultural day laborers. There are a million and a half of them who receive daily wages of 70 cents, are subjected to medieval serfdom, and who in most cases have no right to family allotments or social security. . . .

LOW INCOME

More than half of the Algerian population (9,531,000) has an income of less than $60 a year, and there are at the present time more than one million unemployed. And the population increases at the rate of 320,000 a year. This is why there are more than 300,000 Algerians resident in France.

This concentration of poverty and ignorance and disease the Algerians now realize is the result of French exploitation and the legal fiction that the country is a department of metropolitan France. Algerians know that the Statute of 1947 is a mockery, that they are second-class citizens in their own country, and that French citizenship is claptrap. It is no longer possible to keep them down on a large scale.

Let Guérin tell how France has tried to Gallicize the country:

> But if the physical decay is as bad as just described, the *moral* decay seems to me even more lamentable. In Morocco and Tunisia the natives are subjugated and exploited, but at least their personality, their traditions, their language, their religion have been respected up to a certain point (and sometimes even unduly, because the civilizing power has made a practice of preserving the most archaic, the most reactionary features of these cultures). There is nothing of the kind in Algeria. *They have tried to kill the soul of this country.*
>
> They have conquered so as to people it with colonists, so as to annex it to the metropolis. The natives narrowly missed the treatment which the American pioneer inflicted on the Indians. At the outset, militarists like General Bernard in 1833 seriously considered 'driving out, exterminating, the native population.' The project, however, proved impossible. But unable physically to eliminate the native, they have tried to break him spiritually and morally. . . . You may think this unbelievable, but in Algeria even the Arabic language is considered a 'foreign tongue' and is not taught in the public schools. It is only since 1947 that a smattering of 'preparatory Arabic' has been taught in the primary schools as a face-saving device.

WHITE CASTE

There is no secondary education in Arabic in Algeria, no Arabic university education. And since French instruction is doled out in driblets (only 10 percent of Moslem children of school age are enrolled in school), the Algerian knows neither his mother tongue nor the French of his conqueror.

Would you like two notorious examples? Messali Hadj, leader of the Algerian nationalist movement, had to learn classic Arabic at Paris in the School of Oriental Languages. Ferhat Abbas, the brilliant founder of the 'Manifeste' movement, can express himself, it seems, much better in French than in Arabic. . . .

The whites in Algeria are a caste apart. They are in the main hard-boiled, ruthless, and unrestrained by Metropolitan France. They frustrate all attemps at reform and fight every effort to improve the lot of the Algerians. Guérin calls them "one of the most callous and pitiless agrarain feudalisms known to history. Viewed from this angle the Algerian problem is more social than national. It is naional to the extent that this feudalism is foreign, and to the extent that it rests upon the rights of conquest. But its basic power is economic, and like all feudalisms it means control by a few."

"MOPPING UP"

To dampen this inflamed Algerian nationalism and to check Algerian terrorists, (the fellagha) the French have inaugurated the policy of *ratissages,* the "regime of hostages,'" opened concentration camps (euphemistically called "lodging camps"), imported thugs and detectives from France, and police dogs from Tunisia. "Can we solve the Algerian uprising by the classic colonial methods of military repression?" questions Robert Barrat. His answer is an emphatic, *No.*

Albert Camus, author of *The Rebel, The Plague,* and other books, and himself French-Algerian by birth, writes in *L'Express* (July 9, 1955) on "Terrorism and Repression."

If Algeria must die, it will be from widespread resignation. It seems that metropolitan France, just as indifferent as this exasperated colony, believes a genuine Franco-Arabic community impossible and that from now on a display of force is necessary. Whether it is Paris acting in the name of progress or reaction, or Algiers acting through repression and terror, everyone seems to expect the worst: the definite separation of the Frenchman and the Arab through slaughter and prison.

I am one of those unable to stand quietly by while seeing this country broken in two for ever. Despite the fact that a shortsighted policy may have prevented the establishment of a real Franco-Arabic community, such a community does exist for me as it does for many Frenchmen in Algeria. . . .

Terrorism is a mistake because of its consequences. The first thing it does is to seal the mouths of liberal Frenchmen in Algeria and, in consequence, strengthens the forces of reaction and repression. Those on the spot who could speak out with the voice of reason . . . are silenced in the name of the murdered teacher, the knifed pedestrian, and the many schools burned.

Terrorism for the Algerian means putting all the instruments of power in these same implacable hands, to give strength to the effectiveness of brute force. The Algerians would come out of this test a broken people. . . .

MOROCCO

MOROCCO: In regard to Morocco the fiction is that the country is a French protectorate (officially inaugurated on March 30, 1912) and not a colony. Sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Moulay Arafa is the nominal ruler, but he is actually a French puppet. The real ruler is the Commissioner Resident General. Ever since the French ousted Sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef in August, 1953, for being nationalistic, they have insisted that the Moroccan problem is "dynastic" rather than colonial.

Is this true? The facts show otherwise, that here as in Algeria the unrest, the open rebellion, the terrorism are the fruits of abnormal economic and social conditions. Here is part of what Daniel Guérin (*op. cit.*) has to say about Morocco:

> Naturally, all of French Morocco is not as Americanized as Casablanca. Apart from Agadir, whose position as the Atlantic harbor of the Moroccan South gave it a big spurt, the other European centers are not so feverish. There is, however, a gaudiness and megalomania surprising to the metropolitan Frenchman. . . . The European city spreads over a vast area. Wide avenues, sumptuous public monuments. Every city boasts a palace-hotel whose prices are prohibitive for a 'poor relation' from the metropolis. Arrogance stands out in the stones and on the faces.
>
> Fantastic sums have been wasted this way while nothing or almost nothing has been done to improve native housing. Immense areas have been bought up to house a few thousand Europeans while the Moroccans are packed like sardines into the congested, antique and unhealthy *medinas.* Up to 1947, some 35 million dollars were expended to house 350,000 Europeans, while less than 2 millions were spent for 8 million Moroccans. Add to this the facts that the native Moroccan population is growing at the rate of 250,000 annually and that legions of country people are being attracted to the cities every year.
>
> In Casablanca, which exercises the strongest pull, hundreds of thousands of uprooted workers have had to camp in hovels made out of gasolene cans and old boards—the notorious *tin-can villages.* The population of central Carrières, where blood was shed in December, 1952, is almost as numerous. No running water, no sewage. Contagious diseases run riot. . . .
>
> Besides the poverty and the unhygienic conditions I was struck by the complete segregation of the two populations. Nowhere else in North Africa has it been pushed to such extremes. At Algiers and in Tunis Arabs and Europeans mix, rub elbows so to speak, and one does not sense a real racial frontier; but here everybody knows his place and stays in it. . . . Except for greenhorns, newcomers from France who have not had time to learn good racial manners, no Frenchman would think of putting his foot in an Arab city. . . .

AGRICULTURAL TAX

> Outside the cities the spectacle is not much more comforting. . . . The agricultural tax, the *'terib,'* is proportionately heavier on the native than it is on the colonist: The latter pays only 80 cents a hectare [2½ acres] while the Moroccan pays $1.20, or 24 percent more. Besides, the common man is pressured by a band of parasites, *caids* and *pashas,* usually servile to the French authority and who batten off two sources, their subjects and their protectors. . . .

This situation led to the state of open rebellion since the removal of popular Sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef on August 20, 1953, *La Date Fatidique,* and the wave of terrorism which now grips the country. Under the pressure of inflamed Moroccan nationalism, the French government made a few half-hearted concessions which were immediately blocked by the French-settler population. At the same time, the settlers, with the connivance of the police and local French authority, organized a counter-terrorism of their own. One of the earliest of these counter-terrorist groups was the first brigade of the *Police Judicaire* under Chief-Inspector Jean Delrieu. There is also ODAT (Organization for Anti-Terrorist Defense), AGIR (Advance Guard of Republican Ideology), and *Présence Française,* headed by Col. Le Boeuf, a kind of French Ku Klux Klan.

AGIR is primarily a propaganda group and has so far confined itself to the distribution of pro-French tracts and publicity.

COUNTER TERRORISM

Counter-terrorism usually takes three forms. There is, first, the spontaneous reaction of Europeans when a friend or relative has been killed. Motivated by Vengeance, they grab a firearm, hop into their cars, drive out and kill the first Moroccans they happen to meet. They do not know their victims. They are only interested in the number of killed or wounded. If the chance witnesses to these personal crimes are Europeans, they refuse to talk—out of sympathy with counter-terrorism; if Moroccans, they are afraid to talk—out of fear of counter-terrorism.

The second group is made up of those Europeans who have become infected by the general climate of lawlessness and gore. Seeing the "heroes of the counter terror" going unpunished, they wish to get into the swim. So they go out and kill any Moroccan they meet.

The third group is made up of organized counter-terrorists with a countrywide network.

POLICE IMPLICATED

Some of the most active members in this third group are the police themselves. The director of the *Securité du Territoire* admitted, in an official report, that he is distrustful of his Moroccan colleagues. They are French. It was noticed last March, for instance, that the list of counter-terrorist attacks furnished the authorities by *Conscience Française* (backed by Lemaigre-Dubreuil) differed from the list drawn up by the police themselves. The police had conveniently failed to report most of these attacks with the explanation that they had "no formal proof that the counter-terrorists were responsible."

Albert Forestier, an editor of *Maroc-Presse* who became a member of the police force after doing his military service, did more than any other man to dig out the facts about the Moroccan counter-terrorists. However, he was conveniently "killed in an automobile accident" on January 3, 1955. A rich newspaper publisher like Jacques Lemaigre-Dubreuil of *Maroc-Presse* was murdered last June because he crusaded for Moroccan autonomy. Though the names of those responsible (his name was on the list of "future principal victims" of the counter-terror uncovered by Forestier) for Lemaigre-Dubreuil's murder are known, local officials have made no arrests. The 13 bullets dug out of his body are of the same type as those used by the Casablanca police.

TUNISIA

TUNISIA: The "Treaty of Bardo," signed at Kassar Said, on May 12, 1881, marked "the first legal phase of the Protectorate of France over Tunis." France became the tutelary authority in Tunisia through much the same fraud that she had worked so well in Morocco and Algeria. Conquest of the country really started with the incident of Khroumirs on the morning of April 1, 1881, after a band of irregulars had crossed the Algerian-Tunisian frontier on March 30-31. This gave the French government the incident it needed. The subsequent repression and terror were much the same story as in Algeria and Morocco.

Let Jean Rous, secretary of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism, take up the story (*United Asia,* July 1955):

> In Tunisia the period after the liberation was opened by the deposition of the Bey Moncef. [He was popular and supported nationalist claims.] For years this action cut the throne and the authorities off from the Tunisian people. After the death of Moncef Bey in exile at Pau, progress was slowly made towards cooperation with the nationalists represented by Néo Destour. This collaboration was facilitated by the political sense of Habib Bourguiba who did not demand full independence at once. He formulated a seven-point program for internal autonomy which served as the basis for the negotiations which led to the establishment of the Chenik government of 1950.
>
> But the representatives of the French Settlers caused these negotiations to fail and their pressure on the French government induced it to reply to a memorandum from the Tunisian government in the letter of December 15, 1951, which expressed the concept of co-sovereignty. This plunged the country into a grave crisis; strikes and demonstrations were followed by repression, then terrorism and counter terrorism.
>
> This crisis was only resolved when M. Mendès-France came to office leading a government which recognized Tunisian autonomy unequivocally and implicitly repudiated the disastrous note of December 15. Above all M. Mendès-France refused to obey the ultimatums of settlers and abandoned their narrow policy for one representing France as a whole, thus achieving full success, which will be confirmed by the outcome of the Franco-Tunisian negotiations and the signing of a convention establishing internal autonomy. The French prime minister has kept the promises of autonomy given by France which had previously been sabotaged by local intervention.

ESSENCE OF PROBLEM

SUMMING UP: On paper, the French pursue a liberal colonial policy in North Africa. In practice, however, they have evaded the problems of poverty, disease, illiteracy, land-hunger, unemployment, overpopulation, and the desire for self-rule. Unfortunately, a large French-settler population, backed by a powerful colonial bloc in Paris, has thwarted all concessions from Paris on the grounds that they encourage North African nationalism and native arrogance. Meanwhile, nationalist agitation goes on. The natives organize terrorist groups; the French settlers, counter terrorist groups and ruthless repression. Paris may eventually implement some of its concessions for more autonomy, but even the most progressive elements in the French government are not prepared to concede the Maghreb any more than a very limited autonomy.

At Bandung, a group of Moroccans, Algerians, and Tunisians tried to "internationalize" the North African problem. This delegation was composed of seven veterans of the North-African nationalist movements: Salah Ben Youssef, secretary general of Néo-Destour (Tunisia); Allah El Fossi, president of the outlawed Istiqlal (Morocco); Hussein Ait Ahmed and Mohammed Yazid (Algeria); Tahar Amira, representative of the Néo-Destour at Djakarta, and Taïeb Slim, representative of the Néo-Destour at New Delhi; and Ben Djelloun, representative of Istiqlal at Cairo, Egypt.

In France, a group of liberals—Yves Dechezelles, Edouard Depreux, Robert-Jean Longuet, Pierre Mauriac, Georges Montaron, Marceau Pivert, Oreste Rosenfeld, Jean Rous, Robert Treno, and Robert Verdier—have formed a steering committee to create a "vast movement for justice and democracy."

The organizers say the movement will be guided by the following principles: the right of colonial peoples to independence, a just distribution of wealth, the four freedoms for all people, technical assistance for underdeveloped countries, and application of internationalist principles in economic and political relations.

NEGRO AFRICA

CAMEROUN: While the American reading public is fairly well acquainted with French troubles in North Africa, it knowns nothing about the troubles now brewing in *Cameroun.*

The *Cameroons,* a region in West Africa, were a former German protectorate divided in 1919 into two mandates of *Cameroons* and *Cameroun.* Great Britain got the Cameroons; France, Cameroun. Both are now trusteeships. Cameroun is larger than the State of California and has a population of 3,065,000, of which 13,173 are non-native. Cameroun is ruled by a French High Commissioner, at present Roland Pré, and is represented in the French parliament.

CAMEROUNAIS GOALS

The Camerounais want two things: unification of the two Cameroons and independence. To achieve these goals the people have use of two organizations: the RDA (African Democratic Assembly) and the UPC (Union of the Cameroon People). RDA is headed by Félix Houphouet, a deputy from the Ivory Coast; UPC, by Um Nyobé.

Events in Cameroun have begun to unfold according to the pattern followed by the French in North Africa. Both RDA and UPC are accused of being Communist fronts. The police step up their operations against militant elements in these organizations. The Apostolic Vicars of Cameroun warn the faithful to beware of UPC agitators because of "their hostility toward the Church." Louis Aujoulat, Independent party Overseas deputy, proclaims that his party, the Camerounais Democratic Bloc (BDC), is the only "nationalist Camerounais party" because the UPC "takes its orders from Moscow." On May 7, 1955, the police launched an anti-UPC campaign in south and west Cameroun. A general campaign of repression got under way with the arrest of nationalist leaders—Théodor Matip, François Fosso, Samuel Ekwé, *et al.* Several received prison sentences ranging from two to ten years, while others were deported to Yoko Mokolo in north Cameroun.

These repressive measures led to the five-day bloody days of Douala last May. Conservative reports are that more than 100 Camerounais were killed and many more wounded. Arrests exceeded 500, and at N'kong Samba and M'Banga some 300 people were jailed. But little news has come out of Cameroun since May because of the tight censorship—even letters and telegrams addressed to Paris are intercepted. Defense lawyers from Paris are illegally and arbitrarily prohibited from defending native political prisoners in Cameroun.

Thus France has created a potentially serious colonial situation in another one of her overseas possessions. *Lis litem generat*—strife begets strife.

JIM CROW A LA FRANCAISE

THE following items are from "Hot Sauce," a column in *Le Petit Camerounais* (Douala, Cameroun, West Africa):

Subtle racial discrimination is practiced in the better shops of Douala. One doesn't notice it at first—those two counters in the Douala butcher shops. Of course, there are reasons for this. The native population of Douala is riparian and therefore eats a lot of fish. Thrifty housewives buy meat only when they can't get fish. So far so good!

But Douala is a cosmopolitan city and many of its inhabitants also eat meat. When the natives buy it at the market, it is always meat of an inferior quality, therefore they go to the European butcher shops. These butchers have many grades of meat, but most of them are priced out of the reach of native pocketbooks.

Now here is where racial discrimination creeps in. Whenever a Negro buys his meat, they wrap it carelessly in a newspaper. How is meat wrapped for an European? In hygienic wrapping paper, of course. Why doesn't everybody get hygienic wrapping paper?

We have been led to believe that money has no color. Oh, eh? If this is true then why such cowardly and laughable practices?

This reminds us of the notorious, and quite ridiculous signs on the toilets in certain Douala movie houses: "W.-C. [Water Closets] for Africans" and "Toilets for Europeans."

Long live the inequality of man!

* * *

DID YOU KNOW —

That Thomas Dixon once offered Adrienne McNeil, Alonzo F. Herndon's first wife, in blissful ignorance of her Negro descent, the position of leading lady in "The Klansman"?

Race and Housing

HOUSING is a major problem in American race relations, a focus of interracial tension, because of the general lack and inferior quality of housing available to minority groups, especially to Negroes, and because of residential segregation and discrimination in housing projects, both public and private.

NAACP housing policy is as follows: "That all public housing must be open to tenants without regard to race: there should be no white and colored projects. That tenant selection must be made on the basis of need and not on the basis of race. In site selection, if integration is to be achieved, the housing must be placed where it will have a chance to succeed. Placing interracial housing adjacent to already segregated housing defeats the purpose of integration. It also defeats the purpose of integration if the projects are segregated by project building or floor. If adequate non-segregated facilities are not planned and provided then the *branches are requested to oppose the entire program until assurances are given that the entire program will not be jim-crowed.*"

PORT CHESTER

THE housing situation in Port Chester, New York, provoked an open letter from the housing chairman of the Port Chester-Rye branch of the NAACP. The following letter was addressed to the Mayor, the Village Board of Trustees, and the Housing Authority:

Thousands of Port Chester citizens are deeply shocked to learn that the Village has lost its present opportunity to obtain a federal low rent housing project because of failure by the local authorities to submit certain paper work in connection with the application.

News of this failure raises some grave questions. The membership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in common with many others, feels these questions should be discussed fully, promptly and publicly to guard against future failures in the handling of the housing situation. It also calls for certain positive actions which are in the power of the Village government.

The failure of the Housing Authority and the Village Board, to make sure that a "workable relocation program" was submitted to the federal authorities has not yet been explained in a satisfactory manner. Mayor Gioffre's statement that he was "under the impression" that this had been done expresses his astonishment, but does not explain why no check-up by the Board of Trustees was made on this point well before the June 30 deadline.

There has been no public explanation whatever of the reason that Edward Kowalcyk, chairman of the Housing Authority, waited for a week after the June 30 deadline to notify the Board of Trustees that the "workable program" had not been filed.

In this situation it is pointless to debate whether the blame lies with the Village Board of Trustees or with the Housing Authority. The only logical view is that both of these bodies must share in the responsibility for the failure, as must our chief executive the Mayor.

Too many times in the past the Housing Authority has said "new housing is up to the Mayor and Trustees," and too many times when there have been community emergencies, such as fires in slum areas, the Mayor and the Trustees have intimated they cannot make suggestions to the Housing Authority about relocating burned-out families.

This has developed into a pattern of administrative politeness or buck passing, whichever phrase one prefers. This is the pattern that made it possible for the simple but important paper work to lie undone while the chance for a low-rent project with 120 apartments was lost for another year or more.

The fact is that six months or more were lost even before the Village Administration decided to apply to the federal authorities for a new low-rent housing project.

Were there any legal or technical difficulties in preparing the "workable program" which never got to Washington? This does not seem likely. The "workable program" is essentially an outline of the relocation plan—where the tenants would come from for the new project. There are always legal and technical difficulties connected with such matters, but they cannot be offered as an explanation for the fact that no plan of any knd was ever drawn up or discussed.

Still another matter arises from this failure. What is now to be the fate of the Purdy-Palmer-Traverse redevelopment plan, the so-called "parking-lot" project. The lapsing of the application for the Federal help only tightens the relocation bottleneck for this project.

Another question must be asked. What steps is the administration taking, or studying, to encourage new medium-income rental construction by private industry

The housing record of the past few years in Port Chester, since the completion of Midland Court, has been entirely negative. Buildings are condemned, slum clearance is planned, and an ordinance is passed which intends to discourage private builders. We refer to the recent Village Board decision to prohibit the construction of any apartments of less than 600 square feet. This is roughly equal to a four-room apartment.

There is only one way to explain the general gloominess of the housing picture in Port Chester. Neither this administration nor those before it have had anything resembling a real housing program. The problem has been attacked piecemeal and half-heartedly, apparently in the hope that the problem would solve itself.

CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS

The loss of this latest opportunity, if it does nothing more, should hammer home the need for a more positive, better planned approach to the solving of Port Chester's housing problem. We believe the following constructive steps should be taken:

1. The Village Administration and the Housing Authority should prepare a memorandum at once for every New York State member of Congress urging him to work with all energy and speed for the passage of a new federal housing law in the present session, which will make possible a vastly expanded program of low-rent public housing.
2. The Village Administration and the Housing Authority must begin to arouse the widest public support, at

once, for the referendum which will be held this fall to appropriate money under the Mitchell Bill, which was passed in the last session of the state legislature. This bill, if the referendum is passed, will make it possible to invite private limited profit companies to Port Chester to build apartments for the lower middle income groups.

3. The Village Administration and the Housing Authority should appeal at once to the Federal Housing Division for a new grant for the building of 120 public rental units. There is nothing in the law or Federal Housing Division regulations to prevent such application.
4. The Board of Trustees and the Mayor must assert their authority on housing and tenant problems much more forcefully than they have done in the past. There are ample powers in the New York State Public Housing Law to enable the Village Administration to keep proper watch on the work of the Housing Authority. Section 34 of the Public Housing Law gives the Mayor the right to remove members of a local authority for inefficiency, neglect of duty or misconduct.
5. Develop a plan, in cooperation with real estate agents, landlords, and community organizations to encourage rental and sale of dwelling units on an open occupancy basis, with no discrimination as to color, national origin or creed. This would give many families an opportunity to obtain better housing through their own resources. It would contribute something toward solving the relocation problem in the Purdy-Palmer-Traverse area and relieve crowding elsewhere.
6. Most important of all, the Village Administration and the Housing Authority must use all of their resources to develop a positive housing program which can produce new construction within the next 18 months. This program should be drafted and submitted for discussion at a series of public hearings not later than three months from now.

HOUSING AND MINORITY GROUPS

BELOW are excerpts from the speech of Edwin C. Berry, executive secretary of the Portland, Oregon, Urban League at the National Conference of Social Work:

Semantics are tricky. The same words mean vastly different things to different people. At the risk of sounding didactic, I shall define my use of the phrase, *Integrated Housing*.

By integrated housing I mean merely that all persons shall have equal access to the housing market and that all members of a society possess equally the privileges of *Freedom of Movement* and *Freedom of Choice*. According to this definition the importance is placed on *Rights* and *Opportunities* rather than presence. When considering programs and problems re integration we are prone to think of the physical presence of members of various racial, religious, and ethnic segments of society. The definition here offered is sociologically oriented, and it is the opposite of segregation—enforced segregation—and it denotes no enforced separation. . . . The proofs of integration is the recognized and protected eligibility of all persons to participate freely in the whole of American life. . . .

The housing problem is so severe, so deeply entrenched, and so involved with cultural concepts and misconceptions that every technique available to society should be caused to converge on the problem. For here we are dealing with geographical segregation — a special thing which is undergirded and supported by ghettoes of the mind. These mental ghettoes establish, and Make Real, spiritual segregation, which is a far more formidable foe to integration than spatial separation. The spatial differences are visible, overt, and tangible. The mental ghettoes can be measured only in manifestation. This manifestation is often confused and other than precise. For instance, the prejudiced white home owner may fight to maintain the color line in housing, but battle with equal vigor any attempt by others in the neighborhood to have him discontinue the arrangement which permits his black cook and Oriental houseboy to live in his home. Here we see the prejudiced home owner satisfying his bigotry by maintaining a ceremonial (social), rather than spatial distance.

These are but a few of the complicating human factors which beset those who would reorganize American communities along democratic lines. These facts we must know and understand, but we must not be overwhelmed. They may, at first blush, cause our lay supporters to throw up their hands in holy horror at the seeming impossibility of the task. But the community organizer must always maintain persepective and help the less experienced understand that "that which is man made can be man altered." . . .

* * *

"FATEFUL DAY OF JUDGMENT"

Henry Miller's reflections after listening to a speech, delivered in the thirties, by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois:

"Give him a little more time and the white man will destroy himself and the pernicious world he has created. He has no solutions for the ills he has foisted upon the world. None whatever. He is empty, disillusioned, without a grain of hope. He pines for his own miserable end.

"Will the white man drag the Negro down with him? I doubt it. All those who he has persecuted and enslaved, degenerated and emasculated, all of whom he has vampirized will, I believe, rise up against him on the fateful day of judgment. There will be no succor for him, not one friendly alien hand raised to avert his doom. Neither will he be mourned. Instead there will come from all the corners of the earth, like the gathering of a whirlwind, a cry of exultation. 'White man, your day is over! Perish like the worm! And may the memory of your stay on earth be effaced!' "

Henry Miller: *Plexus*, Volume II (Henry Miller is the internationally famous American novelist).

Good News

Vivian Dandridge has a feautred role in the musical comedy "Ankles Aweigh" showing at the Mark Hellinger Theater in New York City.

★ ★ ★

President Eisenhower has appointed Walter A. Gordon of Berkley, California, as governor of the Virgin Islands. Mr. Gordon, a penologist, succeeds Archie A. Alexander, a Des Moines, Idaho, contractor.

When then Governor Earl Warren appointed Mr. Gordon in 1944, he was the first Negro on the State Adult Authority. He was the first Negro to play football on the University of California varsity, the first Californian to be named to an All-American by the late Walter Camp (1918), and the first Negro to obtain a doctor's degree in law at the State University.

Mr. Gordon was for sixteen years president of the Alameda County branch of the NAACP.

★ ★ ★

The twelve-year-old Baltimore, Maryland, school girl, Gloria Lockerman, reached the five-figure mark on CBS-TV's $64,000 quiz on August 23. She spelled her way through this sentence: "The belligerent, astigmatic anthropologist annihilated innumerable chrysanthemums," to win $16,000.

At the show on August 30, she took the $16,000. She was the fourth contestant since the series started to stop short of the jackpot try. "I think the Lord has been very, very good to Gloria, said Gloria's grandmother in announcing the decision to rest with the $16,000.

★ ★ ★

Joan Hunte of St. Albans, Long Island, New York, a Hunter College graduate represented New York City in the "Miss United States" contest held at Carneige Hall on September 16. Miss Hunte works as a business representative for the New York Telephone Company.

★ ★ ★

Jane White, daughter of the late Walter White, was one of the performers who read classics for children on the "TV Workshop" in August.

Along the N. A. A. C. P. Battlefront

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Resistance to Compliance: Apparently many of the southern states did not realize that after the May 31 decision that state and local officials would have to make some decision before the opening of school in September. Now some of them are showing resistance to compliance. North Carolina, with South Carolina joining later, furnished most of the fresh activity in resistance to compliance. In July, Assistant Attorney General Beverly Lake of North Carolina advised white citizens to defy the opinion and suggested the formation of a citizens' group as a corporation to take over the public schools and run them privately. Immediately state conference president Kelly Alexander protested against the speech and demanded the resignation of Dr. Lake.

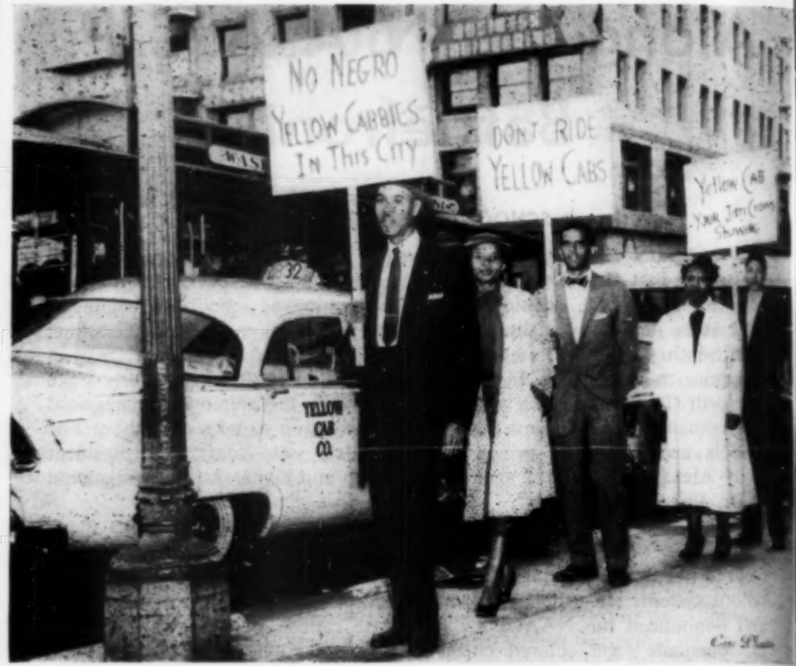
On August 8, Governor Luther H. Hodges of North Carolina made a statewide radio and television appeal to the people, declaring that the colored people by insisting on desegregation would destroy the state's public school system. He called on them to accept voluntary school segregation and denounced the NAACP by name. He called upon the white citizens to "persuade" the colored citizens to accept voluntary segregation and offered the facilities of a state committee to advise them how to do it. An analysis and rebuttal of the Governor's message was prepared and sent to all NAACP branches in North Carolina as well as the principal North Carolina dailies.

Dr. Lake announced his resignation to take effect October 1. However, a new organization has been formed known as the Patriots of North Carolina, Inc., with its leadership including textile executives and a trustee of the University of North Carolina. Its object is to protect the "purity of the white race" and to maintain segregated public schools.

SOUTH CAROLINA

In Orangeburg, South Carolina, a new Citizens' Council was organized in August, following a mass rally said to have been attended by 3,500 people, at which speakers blasted the NAACP and asserted that desegregation would never take place. Here the leadership is again above the Klu Klux Klan level.

All through the summer in the Deep South states a campaign of reprisal has been carried on against those who signed petitions to school



Harry C. Cox

ROY WILKINS, *NAACP executive secretary, taking time out of his brief vacation on the West Coast, leads the "Don't Ride Yellow Cab" picket line of the San Francisco branch. A city-wide boycott was launched following the public statement of the local Yellow Cab president, W. Lansing Rothchild, that his concern does not hire Negro drivers.*

boards, those who are known to be members of the NAACP, those who have attempted to register and vote, or those who have in any way exhibited an attitude of belief in their civil rights and in the correctness of the Supreme Court opinion. Some persons have been forced by circumstances to bow to this pressure, but a substantial number has stood pat.

It is significant that the two new groups in North and South Carolina were not organized until late summer. By that time it had become apparent that the colored people wanted desegregation, contrary to the confident assertions by white officials earlier that Negroes did not want the new order. The speeches of Governor Hodges of North Carolina and State Senator Williams of South Carolina exhorting whites to join in "persuading" the colored people to accept segregation indicate plainly that the vast body of

Negroes in those states has remained firm for desegregation in accordance with the court decree.

PRESSURE ON PETITIONERS

The pressure on signers of petitions has been mean and ruthless. Negroes have been visited personally and in some cases forced to sign a statement that they did not understand the petition and now want their names removed.

The five candidates for governor of Mississippi and the newspapers of that state had a field day during the summer using the Negro, the CIO,

Layne's Studio

MRS. JEWEL ARCHIE *of St. Petersburg, Florida, president St. Petersburg-Tampa chapter of the* LINKS, INC., *points to chapter name on the life-membership plaque in the national office of the NAACP which lists all persons and organizations which have become NAACP life members. Fifty-six chapters of the* LINKS, INC., *have taken out life memberships in the NAACP and are listed on the plaque.*

the Supreme Court, the NAACP, Communists, intermarriage, and other topics as whipping boys in the election race. Race hatred was whipped to fever pitch in the scramble for votes.

To the murder of Rev. G. W. Lee at Belzoni, Mississippi, last May was added the murder of Lamar Smith on the courthouse lawn at Brookhaven, Mississippi, on August 13. These killings occurred because the victims had registered to vote and were active politically. Then on or about August 29 there was the brutal murder of Emmett Louis Till, 14, near Greenwood, Mississippi.

Gaston Devigne

FIRST APPOINTEE—*When Morton Richardson (third from left) was appointed toll collector on the Delaware River Bridge in August, he became the first Negro ever to be employed in any capacity on the Philadelphia-Camden span since it was first opened in 1926. The 29-year-old veteran is shown being congratulated by Dr. U. S. Wiggins, president of the Camden branch which helped to bring about the appointment, while Dr. Harry J. Green (left), president of the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, branch, and Father W. C. McKay, chairman of the Camden branch labor committee, look on.*

THE VERY *active members of the Junior Women's Auxiliary of the Cleveland, Ohio, branch pictured here are (from left, third row) Mrs. Ola Corprew, Bernice Graham, Mrs. Ella Kimbro, Mrs. Virena Todd, Gerard Anderson (branch executive secretary), Mrs. Violet Favors, Mrs. Hilda Matthews, Mrs. Fannie Scott, Alma Smith, Mrs. Jewel James; (second row, seated) Gladys Walker, Mrs. Beatrice Waddell, Mrs. Edna Davis, Mrs. Mary Brewer, Mrs. Lillian Wynn, Mrs. Dorothy Mitchell ("Mrs. NAACP of* 1955), *Mrs. Robbie Purdy (president), Mrs. Bertha Byrdsong, Mrs. Yetta Childress, Ethelyn Gorman; (front row) Rosalie Jennings, Mrs. Hubye Wilson, Mrs. Rebecca Lockett, and Mrs. Irene Wykle.*

Mississippi, always worse than any other state, has fanned racial feeling to such a pitch that whites feel free to murder Negroes who stand up for their rights. This same atmosphere was responsible in large measure for the beastly murder of the Till boy.

Threats of death have been sent to registered voters; ballots have been challenged and not counted when cast, and all the votes from Mound Bayou were reported as disregarded in the state count; affidavits from 19 persons who had their ballots challenged on the ground they were not members of the Democratic party have been forwarded by the NAACP to the Department of Justice, which says it is conducting an investigation.

Dr. A. H. McCoy, president of the Mississippi NAACP state conference, has received so many vicious threats against himself and his family that he had to request police protection and eventually set up guards about his home in Jackson. The presidents of the Vicksburg and Natchez branches have also received threats, as has the president of the Yazoo City branch.

DESEGREGATION

Oklahoma: The daily papers and NAACP press releases have already told of the progress of desegregation during the summer. Oklahoma leads all the states, since the May 31 decision was handed down, with more than 65 communities, including all the large cities, wiping out racially segregated schools as of this September. Some important cities in Texas, a slow movement without incident in Kentucky, and a scattered few in Arkansas, make up the good news.

Civil Rights Bills: Nearly one hundred civil rights bills are before the 84th Congress. Many of these are duplicates. After prodding by congressmen who sponsored bills and the NAACP, the House Judiciary Subcommittee No. 2 held hearings on 51 civil rights measures on July 13, 14, and 27. Executive secretary Roy Wilkins testified for the Association at these hearings.

The bills before the subcommittee cover such basic subjects as fair employment, protection against violence, protection against segregation in interstate travel, protection of the right to vote, and prohibition of racial segregation in housing and educational programs that receive any form of federal assistance.

Their enactment would require the establishment of a fair employment practice committee with enforcement powers, amendment of the existing civil rights laws, strengthening of the functions of the Department of Justice in the civil rights field, and other measures.

Hearings closed on July 27. However, no similar action was taken in the Senate.

SEGREGATED TRANSPORTATION

Bus Segregation Illegal: Southern statutes providing for the separation of races on city buses, trolley cars, and other means of transportation suffered a severe setback in Richmond, Virginia, on July 14.

In an unprecedented and unanimous decision the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit ruled that the age-old "separate but equal" doctrine has been laid to rest by recent Supreme Court decisions and "can no longer be regarded as a correct statement of the law" in the field of interstate commerce. It declared that the recent Supreme court decision should apply to segregation on city buses within the state.

It was handed down in a suit brought by NAACP Legal Defense and

Educational Fund on behalf of a Negro woman, Mrs. Sarah Mae Flemming, of Columbia, S. C., and against the South Carolina Gas and Electric Co.

Mrs. Flemming brought suit against the company to recover damages resulting from being ejected from the bus and a blow she received in the abdomen struck by the driver. Mrs. Flemming took a seat in the white section of the bus and was ordered by the driver into the rear of the bus in loud, abusive and threatening language and tone. She became frightened and feared further humiliation and bodily harm and at the next corner she attempted to follow a white passenger out of the front door. The driver ordered her to leave by the rear door and struck her in the stomach to further force her to obey his order.

The case was originally dismissed by U. S. District Judge George Bell Timmerman on the ground that the separate but equal doctrine of Plessy v. Ferguson was still in control as to interstate commerce and that the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the school segregation cases did not apply in the area of transportation.

Attorney for the bus company argued that federal jurisdiction was not applicable because the South Carolina statute made the bus driver an officer of the state. When he was enforcing the segregation regulation on the bus he was not acting for the company but as an officer of the state.

South Carolina statutes provide for the segregation of the races on motor vehicles in both city and intrastate carriers and empowers bus drivers and operators with special police authority to arrest persons who violate the bus segregation laws.

Attorney Robert L. Carter who argued the appeal on behalf of Mrs. Flemming declared that there could be no question as to the jurisdiction of the federal court. He contended that the bus driver in enforcing the state segregation statute was acting as both bus driver and officer of the state. Mr. Carter contended also that the bus company was charged by the South Carolina statute with the duty to enforce the law. He argued further that the recent Supreme Court decisions had swept away all support for separate but equal doctrine even as applied to intrastate commerce.

In handing down the decision, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals struck down the South Carolina state segregation statute, reversed the district court's decision and remanded it back to the lower court.

The decision in this case is highly significant in that it means that segregation in local streetcars, buses and other means of transportation can no longer be enforced. The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals has jurisdiction over the states of South Carolina, North Carolina, West Virginia and Maryland. Unless the U. S. Supreme Court reverses this decision in these states, the circuit ruling of today can be applied.

Segregation in Interstate Travel: On July 14, Robert L. Carter, first assistant counsel of the Association, told eleven members of the Interstate Commerce Commission that the segregation of Negro passengers traveling through states which have enforced bias laws is an "unwarranted misuse" of the Interstate Commerce Act.

Congress has empowered the Commission with the authority to overrule any railroad's regulation which calls for the separation of passengers because of race or color, Mr. Carter said. He called upon the Interstate Commerce Commission to use this power and put an end to the railroad's long practice of racial segregation in interstate travel.

In what is regarded as a direct attack on segregation in railroad coaches, waiting-room facilities, and eating places in railroad terminals, Attorney Carter appeared before the Interstate Commerce Commission in behalf of the NAACP and 21 individuals who brought discrimination charges against eleven railroads, the Richmond, Virginia, Terminal Railway Company, and the Union News Company, operator of the eating facilities at the Broad Street Station in the Richmond Terminal.

Following the filing of the charges with the Commission, an ICC Examiner, Howard Hosmer, in a proposed report, claimed that the railroads' segregation practice "subjected Negro passengers to unreasonable disadvantages in violation of Section 3(1) of the Interstate Commerce Commission Act." His report asked for the end of segregation in interstate travel.

In the matter of restaurant facilities, however, Examiner Hosmer held that the Interstate Commerce Commission does not have jurisdiction and cannot order an end to discriminatory policy in respect to the use of these facilities.

The proposed report brought sharp exceptions from the eleven railroads and the Richmond Railway Terminal. Each asked for time to argue before the Interstate Commerce Commission, but only attorneys for the Richmond Terminal Company, Illinois-Central and the Texas and Pacific Railroads appeared.

NAACP attorneys took exception to that phase of the Examiner's report which held that the Interstate Commerce Commission did not have jurisdiction over the eating facilities at the Broad Street Station, and that the Commission did not have the power to order the Union News Co. to cease its jim-crow practices.

In this connection, Mr. Carter argued that the eating facilities at the Station do come under the Interstate Commerce Commission's jurisdiction since it is a part of the property owned and operated by the Richmond Railroad Company for the convenience of passengers. The Terminal Company must abide by the ICC's regulation and so should the Union News Company, attorney Carter said.

Attorney for the Richmond Terminal Company, Charles C. Reynolds, contended that the lease granted the Union News Company "keeps the Terminal Company from being liable."

Attorney Reynolds defended the Terminal's maintenance of signs designating "white" and "colored" waiting and restrooms. He said there is no required segregation. Attendants have been "instructed not to interfere" with Negroes using either, he asserted.

What the Branches Are Doing

Arizona: Because of the apparent reluctance of certain Arizona school boards to desegregate, the executive board of the SOUTHEAST AREA CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP called a special meeting in Yuma on August 6 to formulate plans to effectively implement the Supreme Court's ruling.

California: The Popularity Club of Santa Monica was presented with a plaque by the SANTA MONICA BAY AREA branch for the Club's loyal support of branch work. A Club sponsored tea raised $250.

The United States Court of Appeals has been asked to settle a jurisdictional dispute in the EL CENTRO school segregation case in a motion to file a petition for writ of mandamus presented in July for the parents of 64 children of Negro and Mexican-American descent.

The attorneys are appealing the order of the U. S. district court judge Peirson H. Hall staying proceedings before his court to await filing and adjudication of the segregation complaint in the state court of Imperial county.

Simultaneous suits were filed this year on February 7 in the U. S. district for the southern district of California at San Diego in which Negro and Mexican-American parents charged El Centro school authorities with maintaining segregated schools on the basis of race, color, and national origin. Judge Hall, who was sitting, ordered the case to the state courts, holding that his court does not have initial jurisdiction in the matter.

Named as defendants in the segregation case are Guy Weakley, superintendent of El Centro school district and Central Union high school district; all members of the imperial county board and the Central Union high school district; Olin Cresham, superintendent of schools of Imperial county; and the five members of the imperial county board of supervisors.

NAACP attorneys in the suit filed on the behalf of the Negro children are Richard W. Petherbridge, chairman, Imperial Valley NAACP legal redress committee; Franklin H. Williams, NAACP secretary-counsel; Loren Miller, chairman, West Coast NAACP legal committee; Charles B. Johnson, president, Pasadena NAACP; and Bryon F. Lindsley, first vice-president, San Diego NAACP.

Attorneys in the suit filed on the behalf of the Mexican-Amercian children are Ralph C. Estrado of the Alianza Hispano Americana and A. L. Wirin, American Civil Liberties Union.

Lester P. Bailey, NNACP field secretary, directed the NAACP survey and was assisted by several members of the Imperial Valley branch.

At HERLONG the Association has discovered another jim-crow nest at the Sierra Ordnance Depot where the U.S. Army is segregating Negro civilian employees with the same efficiency with which it sorts and segregates different calibers of high explosive shells and small arms ammunition. Authorities at this ordnance base, named after the mountain range in which it is located, have been restricting Negroes to certain government housing quarters for nearly a decade.

But this year, less than six months after the Herlong NAACP committee was organized, a bomb was dropped on this nest of housing discrimination.

It all began in this government-owned town after World War II when Negroes began migrating to the Far West looking for new job opportunities. As rapidly as they were employed as ordnance workers, they were assigned to the 200 block in the Barnes Area. This block runs vertically through several streets, and, until 1950, marked off the extreme limits within which a Negro family might find housing quarters "on post." As white and colored civilian workers swelled the community's population to nearly 3,000 (500 Negroes), the jim-crow 200 block split its seams and spilled over into 300 block in the same area. Thus it remained until the Landum Act, which gave birth to these units, expired and orders to evacuate and demolish the buildings were issued.

The officials, military and civilian, shuffled their housing plan and dealt out a new "spread"—more jim crow.

The 400 block in the Barnes Area, also under Landum Act housing, had been renovated while reserved for white families only. Accordingly, it escaped the Landum "axe.' This block was chosen as the area in which to relocate the Negroe families being displaced from the now deactivated 200 and 300 block. Then began a mass assisted exodus of white famalies from the "renobated" 400 block. As quickly as the white family moved out, a Negro family moved in. When a few white families protested the inconvenience of moving, they were told that they had to move because the "Negroes are coming in." Wen a Negro tenant protested being assigned to segregated housing, an eviction notice was issued forthwith.

Like most housing plans, this one has its architects. One is J. M. Battenfield, housing management supervisor. A civilian employe, Battenfield has held this position for as many years as there has been housing segregation in Herlong. His administration of housing affairs is carried out by the order of the Commanding Officer, Colonel Howard M. Elliott. The latter is a recent arrival at Herlong (one year), but, like his predecessors, he gives the U. S. Army stamp of approval to Battenfield's discriminatory plans.

Battenfield is the "King Midas" of Herlong housing quarters; every area "touched" by his authority turns to jim crow. The 29 dormitories unders his supervision are as segregated as the bus station in Gulfport, Mississippi. Negroes are confined to one street in a new housing area just outside the depot where they must get Battenfield's and Co. Elliott's certification for occupancy. Negroes are excluded completely from another new housing project on the base, which is within Battenfield's jurisdiction. In still another area, where a handful of Negro families "seeped in of necessity, white families are being permitted to move out if they are so "unlucky" as to wake up and find a colored tenant next door.

Excepting two "white" barbershops, no other segregation in recreation and other facilities of public accommodation was found on the post. This makes the housing pattern all the more obvious and absurd. With anti-Negro Reno, Nevada, just 56 miles to the southwest, one might expect the jim-crow pattern to be solid throughout Herlong.

Employment practices at the U. S. Naval Magazine at PORT CHICAGO have again come under fire. Samuel Gould of Oakland, a disabled veteran, charged in a complaint to the NAACP regional office that he was summarily fired from the ordnance depot last January following a long period of medical treatment during which he underwent surgery.

Gould charges that he was dismissed, without benefit of a hearing, on January 7, 1955, after he received a "Notification of Personnel Action" bearing the terse statement: ". . . action taken due to excessive absenteeism. Gould told NAACP Field Secretary Lester Bailey that he can produce his doctor's and Veterans Administration statements of medical treatment covering 50 of the 51 days he was absent from his job.

He also told NAACP officials that he presented doctors' statements while absent until his supervisor asked him not to bring in any more such statements because the supervisor was getting "hell —upon the Hill."

Shortly afterward, Gould was called into the Chief Machinist's office and told that he would be fired on Jan. 7.

Gould, who has a statement of service-connected disability, has since been unable to find employment because of the "excessive absenteeism" reason given for his separation from the Port Chicago depot.

Mr. Bailey stated at the regional office that Gould's firing follows a "wide-spread pattern affecting Negroes" on government installations in northern California.

According to the NAACP, the pattern of "frivolous dismissals" of Negro employes follows the "building" of a case-history based on minor complaints. When the worker's file shows three or more such "infractions" he is fired on the record.

Missouri: Some of the nation's leading lawyers held a conference in ST. LOUIS on July 23 with Robert L. Carter and Elmwood H. Chisholm of the NAACP national legal staff for the purpose of mapping a defense of Negro teachers in Missouri who have been dismissed from their employment in public schools in ten smaller communities of the state because of desegregation.

The meeting was largely attended by affected and interested teachers from all parts of Missouri and representatives of the state's NAACP branches.

The morning session of the conference, held in the Pine Street YMCA, was divided among the lawyers and the teachers and branch representatives, while the afternoon session was devoted wholly to reports and discussions from teachers and persons from the affected areas.

Some of the teachers present had been in the public school system for ten and fifteen years and were dropped from instead of being placed in integrated schools. A statement was adopted by the conference in which it recommended to the Missouri State Conference that it immediately prepare data upon which litigation might be based as a means of securing the right of Negro teachers to pursue their employment as professionals in an open public school system.

New York: No Catholic should be out of the fight for interracial justice, the Rev. Archibald V. McLees, pastor of Holy Rosary Parish in Brooklyn, and chaplain of the Brooklyn Catholic Interracial Council, told the Catholic Interracial Forum in New York City in August.

A life-member of the Association, and a vice president of the Brooklyn branch, the priest urged Caholics to join the organizaion as a means of participating in the drive for equal rights and opportunities for Negro citizens.

"Catholics should join the NAACP for two reasons," Fr. McLees said. "In the first place we Catholics have for long years know what bigotry means; we faced it and we had to fight it. Therefore, we should realize the need for helping those who are being oppressed at the present time by bigotry."

"Secondly," Fr. McLees continued, "The NAACP platform is one that Catholics can support wholeheartedly."

He pointed out that the executive secretary of the Catholic Interracial Council, George K. Hunton, is a member of the national board of the NAACP and of its legal defence board.

"To be a member of the NAACP in the South at present is likely to be a hardship," Fr. McLees declared. He cited the ruling of the Georgia State Board of Education that teachers must resign from the NAACP or leave their teaching licenses.

"The South is suffering but we in the North are not. We should be very anxious for the South. The way we can support it is by becoming members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. We won't lose our jobs or be persecuted by our neighbors," he said.

THE NEW YORK CITY branch held a "Night At Ebbets Field" on August 30 when the braves met the Dodgers in a baseball classic. First ticket for the game was bought by Mayor Robert F. Wagner of New York City.

After more than a year of controversy, the AMITYVILLE, L. I., school board has taken the public position that there is no need to discuss the proposed erection of a 12-classroom-school in northeast Amityville with this NAACP branch. The school board insists that the NAACP does not really represent the people in the school district.

The board apparently plants to create a segregated school in an area which had formerly been integrated, and also in an area in which state law specifically prohibits segregation in the public school system.

The CENTRAL LONG ISLAND branch, through its legal representative, Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, and its president Wilfred V. Reape, has offered the following proposals to the board:

(1) that the board can obviate any possibility of segregation if it simply find a central school site which *all* children in the northern sector could attend. In view of the fact that the entire northern sector is not more than 1½ miles long or 2 miles wide such a selection should operate to the advantage of the board.

(2) that the board proceed with its present plans for constructing two school sites, one in the northeast (predominantly Negro) sector and one in the northwest (predominantly white) sector, but that one school be used from grades k-3 for *all* children and one site be used for grades 4-6 for *all* children.

(3) that the board reverse its present plans for conducting grades k-3 in the northeast sector and k-6 in the northwest sector and have the grades k-6 in the northeast (Negro) sector and the k-3 in the northwest sector (white). This would certainly seem to be a fairer plan since the greatest population growth has been in the northeast rather than the northwest and would erase the suspicion that the board does not intend fair play in this situation.

Ohio: The CLEVELAND branch sponsored an "Amateur Day" baseball classic on June 27 at the Cleveland Stadium, the Cleveland Indians vs. the Cincinnati Reds.

Pennsylvania: The DOUPHIN COUNTY branch obtained 760 members and $800.50 in its recent membership campaign.

The REDWOOD CITY branch, through the generosity of two of its members, gave a chicken barbecue dinner on July 31 which earned, at latest report, $225. All monies had not been reported at this writing. This was a very unusual barbecue in that two members, Knox Dudley and his wife, Sue Dudley, bought the chickens and dressed and cooked them for the meal. Not only that, but they also furnished the "trimmings" for the dinner, cost free, as well as three door-prizes—a luncheon set and two sets of pillow slips.

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Book Reviews

RIDICULOUS EDICTS

***The Strange Career of Jim Crow.* By C. Vann Woodward. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. XI+155pp. $2.50.**

The long held popular idea that segregation of the Negro in America is a result of his slavery past is sharply undermined with factual finality in this brief account of segregation. Arkansas-born John Hopkins University Professor Woodward reveals very clearly that during slavery, in Reconstruction times, and almost up to the beginning of the twentieth century spanned a period marked by spots of interracial harmony in the South characterized by an absence of legal jim crow. This was made possible by the paternalistic philosophy of aristocratic Southern conservatives and the Populist Southern radicals approach of a limited type of equalitarianism, both of whose ideas were put into practice, plus the Southern liberals philosophy of equal rights and protection for all citizens which received able and forceful expression but was never practiced.

What crushed decent racial relations in the South was the economic crisis formented by the depression of the 80's and 90's which led to frustration and bitterness that exploded in aggression against the Negro as an accepted scapegoat by all of these groups, and the acquiescence of Northern liberals to the white supremacy extremists in Dixie. Although unintentionally, Booker T. Washington solidified the degradation of the Negro and smoothed the path to complete proscription when he "came forward with a submissive philosophy for the Negro" with his Atlanta speech of 1895 proposing the virtual retirement of the mass of Negroes from the political life of the South and

C. VANN WOODWARD

set aside a menial role for them in American society. The completeness of segregation was then achieved by total disfranchisement and an intensive propaganda of white supremacy climaxed by the promulgation of jim-crow laws and practices ranging from ridiculous edicts such as a New Orleans ordinance segregating white and Negro prostitutes in separate districts, through the use of jim-crow Bibles for Negro witnesses in Atlanta courts, to a sublime decree in Birmingham that made it unlawful for Negroes and whites to play checkers together. In order to completely humiliate the Negro these undemocratic laws kept multiplying until the 1940's and received aid from the U. S. Supreme Court and theories advanced by the most respectable social scientists, such as W. G. Sumner and his folkways and mores, the racist interpretations of the psychologist William McDougall, and F. H. Giddings's emphasis upon "consciousness of kind." Fortunately the Supreme Court is beginning to interpret the real intent of the Constitution and the fallaciousness of this body of social theory has since been revealed.

Although jim crow is not gone from the South—nor even from the North as the author rightfully points out—its structure began to crumble with the onset of the Depression of the 30's, received a tremendous push during the second World War with its aftermath of international tension, and its death knell was sounded on May 17, 1954, when the U. S. Supreme Court unanimously decreed that public school segregation was unconstitutional. Housing and employment yet remain as formidable areas of jim-crow resistance, but even here headway towards its demise is visible. It should be clearly understood that the foundation for this new order is the result of the concerted effort of many forces — the Supreme Court, Presidential orders, numerous organizations such as the NAACP and Southern Regional Council, as well as the patient and devoted work of many Southerners and Northerners of both races. Although the road ahead seems clear and bright, Professor Woodward wisely cautions that we must remember that jim crow is still the rule, that as it crumbles we must be careful to see that through subterfuge legal jim crow is not replaced by non-legal or "voluntary" segregation. In concluding it should be said that this is a momentous monograph published at a significant time; it is also a book of classic proportions and lasting historical quality.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

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AN INFORMED ANALYSIS

Prejudice and Your Child. **By Kenneth B. Clark. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955. 151pp. $2.50.**

It is now three hundred fifty years since Francis Bacon, who (as indicated by Macaulay) stimulated men to the discovery of new and useful truth through the inductive method, published *The Advancement of Learning.* "To clear the way for the dignity of learning," he declared, "I think good to deliver it from discredits and disgraces which it has received through disguises of ignorance in (1) divines, (2) politicians and (3) the learned men themselves."

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, associate professor of psychology at the City College of New York and Research Director of Manhattan's Northside Center for Child Development, has written a book which clears the way for the dignity of learning by (1) setting forth an informed analysis of the origin and development of prejudice in our children and then (2) suggesting a program for action. The introduction to *Prejudice and Your Child* contains a very pertinent reminder:

> All white Americans were either immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. Each wave of newcomers had in common with all the others the fact that the group was fleeing either from economic hardships, from religious or political persecution, or from social humiliation. The people who made up this new nation, therefore, were driven by some basic form of personal or group *insecurity*. This insecurity had to be strong enough to compensate for the disadvantages and discomforts involved in leaving the homeland and migrating to a new world.

This book cogently summarizes the results of studies on the impact of race prejudice on the personalities of Negro and white children, respectively, then goes on to indicate what can and should be done by schools, churches, social agencies and parents. The findings are that both groups of children are hurt—the colored by the psychological effect of rejection, the white by a moral conflict which becomes a personal one — the conclusion is that "Segregated schools . . . make it practically impossible to educate children in the ideals of democracy." The author, who is an authority to be reckoned with — his researches were cited by the Supreme Court in its decision of May 17, 1954—lowers the bomb on the divines and learned men whom Harry Overstreet has classified as "The Gentle People of Prejudice": officials in church and school systems who sit back like the God of deism and watch the nature of prejudice take its course in ghetto formations and then represent themselves as helpless before and after the fact. From these discredits and those disgraces, yea, and their disguises, Dr. Clark would deliver learning, to the end that the great objective of democracy may take its rightful course and find its truthful way. "The vitality and stability of a humane society," he explains, "are at stake."

If there is a shortcoming in Dr. Clark's little volume, it is in its brevity: there is not enough of it; there never is of the truth and good things! He finds space for but passing mention of the press. Not every news organ has had the editorial honesty and clarity (on desegregation) of the St. Louis *Post Dispatch*, or Henry Luce's *Time* and *Life*. Not every journalist has maintained the reportorial objectivity of the New York *Times*' John N. Popham. Yet, as Robert M. Hutchins told the American Society of Newspaper Publishers last spring, they are educators, whether or not they assume their responsibility as guardians of a free press in a democratic society. *Prejudice and Your Child* is an outline for the new education and a challenge to the Old Guard.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

Born to Play Ball. By Willie Mays as told to Charles Einstein. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1955. XIX+168pp. $3.00.

This monograph in the Putnam's Sports Series is simply a collection of incidents and conversation pieces about a boy from Birmingham who had an outstanding year in major league baseball in 1954. This is in no sense a biography of the Giant's Miracle Man of the Mitt, for there are only snatches of his early life and of his family, almost all centered about his antics with a baseball. Those who read the sports pages during 1954 will have gotten fuller accounts of events mentioned here than is to be found inside the covers of this volume. In a manner fixed up by his collaborator Willie Mays repeats already known history about the pennant drive of 1954, certain hits and catches he and others made, on being a celebrity, information on how to play center field, accolades to team members and others of the game, and that is about all.

Willie does reveal that he is not in the Horatio Alger tradition, since he didn't have to work as a youngster and didn't suffer during the Depression since his father always had a job. In general, however, the book is no better nor worse than what is expected from the pen of a professional sports writer astute enough to make capital out of a personality much in the news, and for baseball fans it will make pleasant reading.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

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